



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

**SURVEY OF IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN THE ADULT
EDUCATION COMMUNITY OF EDMONTON**

© BY LAURA E. HO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1990



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

ISBN 0-315-60364-X

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

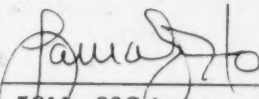
micro

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Laura Ho
TITLE OF THESIS: Survey of Immigrant Participation in the Adult Education
Community of Edmonton
DEGREE: Master of Education
YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1990

PERMISSION IS HEREBY GRANTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY
TO REPRODUCE SINGLE COPIES OF THIS THESIS AND TO LEND OR SELL SUCH
COPIES FOR PRIVATE, SCHOLARLY OR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PURPOSES ONLY.

THE AUTHOR RESERVES OTHER PUBLICATION RIGHTS, AND NEITHER THE
THESIS NOR EXTENSIVE EXTRACTS FROM IT MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE
REPRODUCED WITHOUT THE AUTHOR'S WRITTEN PERMISSION.


5611 - 92C Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T6B 2K9

Date: December 4, 1989

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

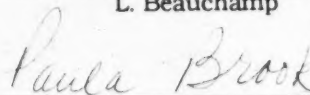
THE UNDERSIGNED CERTIFY THAT THEY HAVE READ, AND RECOMMEND TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH FOR ACCEPTANCE, A
THESIS ENTITLED **SURVEY OF IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN THE ADULT
EDUCATION COMMUNITY OF EDMONTON** SUBMITTED BY LAURA E. HO IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
EDUCATION IN SECONDARY EDUCATION.



(Supervisor) Bruce Bain



L. Beauchamp



P. Brook

Date: _____

December 4, 1989

DEDICATION

To my students who became my teachers. I only hope you learned half as much from my lessons as I learned from your examples of courage, determination and caring.

ABSTRACT

In Canada's increasingly multicultural society, social and economic participation by all groups must be considered an integral aspect of social stability and national development. Recent years have seen the implementation of programmes to this end in the areas of employment equity, integration-oriented second language education in basic education and heritage language education. Little, however, has been written about the role of adult education in promoting cultural integration even though more than half of all immigrants to Alberta are between the ages of 20 - 39.

This study surveyed four fields of participants - ESL programmes, adult education programmes, ESL programme funders and immigrant settlement agencies - but quantitative identification of immigrant learners was not consistently available across all groups. This limitation was compensated for by the incorporation of demographic information for ethnic groups most highly represented in recent immigration, and subsequent comparison with more established groups. Thus, the final measure used was one of supply and demand: documentation of the conditions of participation and indications of demand and need as revealed by immigrant serving programmes and agencies, statistical information and documents in the literature of settlement and adaptation.

The investigation revealed inconsistencies between national goals of cultural integration and practices of many adult education programmes in Edmonton which imply assimilation as a condition of participation by immigrants. Eight elements of systemic discrimination against members of cultural communities were identified, with consequences both for minorities and the community as a whole.

The results of this study have far-reaching implications for adult educators, for immigration and educational policy makers and for community development researchers, especially those most interested in social participation of minorities.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Bias of the Researcher	3
Delimitations	4
Limitations	4
Assumptions	5
Terms of Reference	5
Conclusion	6
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	7
Historical Perspective	8
Characteristics of the Immigrant Population	11
Language and Education	15
Contexts of ESL Education	16
The Reality of Adult Education	19
Acknowledging Diversity in the Universe of Learners	22
Acknowledging Competence – Toward a Philosophy of Tolerance	23
Recognizing Competence – Toward Integration	24
Education and National Development	25
III DESIGN OF THE STUDY	26
Research Components	27
Analysis of Survey Data	31
IV IMMIGRANTS AND THE CONTEXT OF SCHOOLING	32
Part I – ESL in the Context of Adult Education	36
Part II – Factors Affecting the Economic and Social Participation of Immigrants	48
Part III – Factors Affecting the Educational Participation of Immigrants	60
V SOCIETY, SCHOOLING AND CITIZENS – ANALYSIS OF THE THREE DATA FIELDS	72
The Context of ESL/Adult Education	74
Diversity in the Universe of Learners	78
Mechanisms of Systemic Discrimination	80
Education for Multicultural Community Development	86
VI IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	93
Executive Summary	93
Implications of the Study	96
Recommendations	100

REFERENCES.....	103
APPENDIX I - QUESTIONNAIRE FORMS.....	108
APPENDIX II - CASE STORIES OF NEWCOMERS.....	126

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 2.1	Basic Demographic Data for Canada (1976-1986) by calendar year	9
FIGURE 2.2	Regions of Origin by year of Landing in Canada, 1956-1986.....	12
FIGURE 3.1	Descriptive Summary of Participants.....	30
FIGURE 4.1	Immigration to Alberta 1987	34
FIGURE 4.2	Immigration Patterns – Selected Ethnic Groups (Pre 1946 1986)	35
FIGURE 4.3	Unemployment Rates – Selected Ethnic Groups (15-24 yrs)	51
FIGURE 4.4	Unemployment Rates – Selected Ethnic Groups (aged 25+)	40
FIGURE 4.5	Average and Median Income of Selected Ethnic Groups	42
FIGURE 4.6	Educational Background – Selected Ethnic Groups.....	56
FIGURE 7.1	Adult Education and ESL Functions: – A dialectic	75

CHAPTER 1 — INTRODUCTION

Democratization of education, that is, the making of all levels and types of education available to all according to their talents, is essential to the release of a society's creative potential. The technical, scientific, and social problems of a highly advanced industrial society are so complex that no society can afford to waste its human resources but must engage in a constant search for talent.

Porter (1979, p. 62)

These words from Canadian sociologist John Porter appeal to our imaginations both as educators and as citizens. We are encouraged to consider educational participation as reflective of our community's talent, enabling our society to become stronger and more dynamic. It is an idealist's position, weighted with an optimism founded in the knowledge of what the Canadian people could become. In a multicultural Canada, though, how is this challenge being met? Are our programmes adapting to meet the needs created by diverse ethnicity and experience or is diversity a convenient rationale for the existence of social inequality?

This study examined the context of participation of immigrants in adult education in Edmonton from a variety of perspectives in order to address such questions. It corroborated the findings of many other researchers that not all cultural groups have access to the same advantages, and that disadvantage falls along lines of ethnicity, gender and social class. Investigation of these factors continued, however, to consider attributes of various groups as they relate to participation in adult education, one of this society's instruments of opportunity.

Examination of the relationship between isolated language classes and mainstream learning opportunities revealed practices inconsistent with national goals of multiculturalism and cultural integration, and identified structural mechanisms resulting in systemic discrimination against newcomers. These relate to a need for increasing the awareness of educational implications of multiculturalism among policy makers and adult educators generally, and to a consequent dearth of strategies

which would enable more integrative programming across the full spectrum of adult education.

A tension permeates this study, expressing the intensity of countervailing forces of mainstream goals and the needs of minority groups. Mine is not a comfortable position to occupy, vis a vis the democratic idealism of Porter, but it is a necessary one. Canada is avowedly multicultural now and will become increasing so in the future as we anticipate increased immigration to compensate for our declining birthrate. How will adult education adapt?

Definition of the term "adaptation" is central to comprehending the significance of this tension. Adaptation can be equated with assimilation if what we mean is that immigrants are responsible for changing so that they fit into society culturally and economically. If this is what we understand by adaptation, then there is no reason for adult education programmes to adapt; the onus rests completely on the immigrant. If we accept the notion of cultural integration as adaptation, however, we must anticipate some mutual accommodation by both newcomer and the host society. This second definition is articulated in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988, p. 3), committing our national government to:

promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to such participation.

Here, the onus for change is shared as society evolves to reflect the membership of the community.

An emerging role of adult education is to prepare individuals for change – technological and social – so that they can adapt as conditions change. This is also the challenge made to us by Porter, to democratize adult learning opportunities, unlocking the talents and the creative energies of all groups in society, encouraging full participation by each one. The documented demand among immigrants for increased

participation in adult education requires an informed and coordinated response to their needs.

Bias of the Researcher

The reader should be aware of the perspective brought to this work by the researcher. Personal experience is an information filter which deserves acknowledgement. Despite a Chinese family name, I am a descendent of British ancestors who came to Canada several generations ago. I was born in Victoria, B.C. when my father was stationed with the navy band there and the incentive to work with immigrants began, I think, in my own experiences in resettlement on various military bases. Later experience as the eldest child in a single parent household allowed me insight into the lived world of a woman who, with few recognized job skills, must reestablish a place in the community for herself and her family.

Since entering the teaching profession, I have worked directly with immigrants in adult education for more than twelve years, hearing the stories of newcomers as recent arrivals, then meeting some of them again a few years later. The permutations of the settlement and adjustment process experienced by these people have sometimes intrigued me, sometimes left me in complete despair.

I have wondered about learning English and the role it plays in the settlement process. For some individuals, a little English is enough to get started at work while continuing to learn, to make progress in integration as well as in English. For others, though, it seems that no amount of English classes will ever be enough. Learning this language can be an almost insurmountable task. So much difference can exist among people who otherwise share a common level of education, age and social class! Yet how is this diversity accounted for in current schemes for immigrant education and how could it be addressed through education or any other means? Both individuals — the

successful language learner and the less successful one — will be in Canada for the rest of their lives. My bias rests in my level of awareness of and empathy for these learners.

Delimitations

- a) Location — the study took place within the greater Edmonton area.
- b) Participants — the study included the participation of:
 - 1) adult ESL programmes (both full- and part-time);
 - 2) a variety of adult education programmes, including formal, informal and non-formal, all public (both credit and non-credit);
 - 3) ESL funding authorities;
 - 4) immigrant settlement agencies (including ethnocultural agencies);
 - 5) a select number of immigrants who have been in Canada for several years and who have participated or attempted to participate in adult education in Edmonton.
- c) Time — Data collection took place initially from October 1988 to February 1989, with supplementary data collection taking place in May, 1989. Specific student/client data for the year 1987 was requested, where possible.

Limitations

Since the study was limited to the Edmonton area, generalization to the broader context is limited, though some data from other centres, notably Toronto, will be presented together with the findings of the study.

A further limitation lies in the type of data available. Actual figures documenting participation levels would have been ideal, but, as anticipated, most institutions did not have comprehensive records which isolated the participation of this group. Other types of indicators, therefore had to be used.

Assumptions

The study assumed the cooperation of schools, agencies and individual immigrants. Since the topic concerns access or lack of access to education by adult immigrants, it could have been interpreted as threatening to some participants. Extraordinary care was taken to honour individual points of view within the context of the overall discussion.

Terms of Reference

- 1) *English as a Second Language (ESL)* – This term may characterize a subject of study, that is, English for non-native speakers of English. It is also used in this study to distinguish students who might otherwise be described as limited English proficiency (LEP), immigrant or refugee, or non-native speakers of English (NNS).
- 2) *"Regular" programme* – Regular classes are those in which no special provision for ESL assistance is generally made.
- 3) *Academic upgrading* – This term refers to high school level classes offered to adult learners.
- 4) *Immigrant* – A term which is problematic because its use overlaps with many other expressions. Newcomer, migrant, new citizen, new Canadian, visible minority are terms also found in the literature. A refugee is another type of newcomer who, for all intents and purposes, may share many of the same characteristics as an immigrant. An immigrant is, for the purposes of this study, a person who has been in Canada for less than ten years.
- 5) *Mainstream* – This term describes agencies, schools, services and resources which are available to the general public.

Conclusion

This study attempts to describe the multi-faceted reality which is the context of an immigrant's introduction to adult education in Canada. By examining the various points of view of those an immigrant has met or is likely to meet on the journey to adjustment, we can assemble a portrait of the problem: what is the reality of supply and demand for participation in adult education by immigrants in Edmonton.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A study of immigrant participation in adult education must proceed from a dynamic base. The subject itself is a knot which pulls divergent strings, from many disciplines, together into uneasy association. Comprehension of this tangle requires some understanding of the role of immigration in Canadian society, its role in population development, society and the economy. As well, it requires some understanding of demographic characteristics of immigrants as they compare with other Canadians, and how factors of educational background, employment, adult/child ratio affect the adaptation scenario. This understanding may offer some indication of possible educational needs arising within the newcomer population.

As a growing proportion of immigrants and refugees are non-English speaking, consideration of the role of language — mother tongue and adopted — will be considered as it applies to education and to multiethnic societies generally. It is becoming increasingly important in Canada to consider the ramifications of multi-ethnicity in all social, economic and political contexts, including education.

Each of these dynamics — immigration, social participation, multi-ethnicity, adult education — may be understood within the framework of the larger economy and society. This analysis begins from the perspective of adult immigrants and education expressed by American Marxist economists Bowles and Gintis (1976) that "Any adequate explanation must begin with the fact that schools produce workers." What is even more fundamental to the context of this study, however, is the interaction of schooling with other social variables, notably gender, race, and class, and resulting societal outcomes.

A. Historical Perspectives of Immigration

Following the publication of the Green Paper on Immigration in 1975, Canada adopted the view that "small is beautiful," advocating controlled economic and population growth. Since that time, Canadian public awareness of immigration has been heightened by the arrival of several waves of refugees — the Soviet Jews, the Chileans, the Vietnamese, the Ethiopians — and by publicity concerning the situation of refugees world-wide. At the same time, by examining Figure 2.1 (Employment and Immigration, 1987), we can see that actual immigration levels since 1976 have fluctuated between a low of 84,300 and a high of 149,400. The announced planning levels for 1988 of 125 — 135,000 were slightly higher than those of the previous few years "in response to a number of policy recommendations on family-related immigration" (Employment and Immigration, 1987, p. ii).

The Royal Commission Report on Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (1985) included a discussion of the role of immigration policy in future development. The report contends that "Our immigration policy has long been tied to the concept of 'absorptive capacity' which, in turn, has become more closely linked to labour-market conditions" (p. 662). We can see that the link between immigration and the economy is a direct one, both in terms of immigration planning and established labour needs. These, in turn, are linked with education. "Canadians gain when persons with valuable training and education immigrate to Canada" (p. 663). Skills that immigrants bring to Canada are an acknowledged contribution, a contribution which may, admittedly, detract from the economic growth of source countries. "While we may save on the expense of providing education and skill-development opportunities for recent immigrants, other countries lose some of the benefits of their investment in their citizens' education" (p. 663). How these valuable skills are to be translated in the Canadian context, however, remains undiscussed. The implication is that they are directly applicable.

BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FOR CANADA, 1976-1986, BY CALENDAR YEAR

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982(1)	1983(1)	1984(1)	1985(1)	1986(1)	Average
Total Population on January 1	22,681,900	23,138,400	23,417,400	23,644,500	23,911,900	24,221,300	24,511,400	24,782,000	25,070,300	25,263,000	25,497,200	24,209,440
Births	360,400	340,700	340,700	344,100	370,700	371,300	373,100	373,700	377,000	375,700	378,300	369,745
Deaths	167,200	167,500	168,200	168,200	171,500	171,000	174,400	174,500	175,700	181,500	184,400	173,245
Natural Increase	193,200	173,200	172,500	175,900	199,200	200,300	198,700	199,200	201,300	194,200	193,900	196,500
Birth Rate (1)	1.57	1.54	1.54	1.55	1.55	1.53	1.52	1.51	1.51	1.49	1.48	1.53
Death Rate (1)	0.73	0.72	0.72	0.71	0.72	0.71	0.71	0.70	0.70	0.72	0.73	0.72
Rate of Natural Increase (1)	0.84	0.83	0.82	0.84	0.83	0.82	0.81	0.80	0.80	0.77	0.75	0.81
Immigration	149,400	114,900	86,341	112,100	143,100	128,400	121,100	89,200	88,700	80,300	98,400	110,530
Emigration	64,400	61,400	63,501	54,700	43,200	43,700	49,400	50,100	46,400	47,500	47,600	52,790
Net Migration	85,000	53,500	22,840	57,400	99,900	84,700	71,700	39,100	42,300	32,800	50,800	57,740
Net Migration Rate (1)	0.37	0.23	0.10	0.24	0.41	0.35	0.29	0.16	0.17	0.14	0.20	0.24
Total Annual Pop. Increase (1)	274,500	229,000	227,100	267,400	309,400	290,500	270,400	238,500	242,300	229,200	243,500	279,210
Residual (2)	-3,700	12,300	12,500	12,100	12,300	5,100	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
(3) Rate of Pop. Growth	1.20	1.12	0.97	1.13	1.29	1.20	1.10	0.96	0.97	0.91	0.95	1.07
% of Annual Growth from Natural Increase	70.4	74.6	84.5	74.0	64.6	69.0	73.5	83.6	82.9	84.8	79.0	76.4
% of Annual Growth from Net Migration	31.0	20.7	10.0	21.5	31.6	29.2	26.5	16.4	17.1	15.2	21.0	23.6
% of Annual Growth from Residual	-1.3	4.7	5.4	4.5	4.0	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	N/A
Total Fertility Rate	1.825	1.806	1.757	1.764	1.766	1.704	1.694	1.680	1.664	1.649	N/A	N/A

(1) Total increase = $P_{t+1} - P_t$.
 (2) Residual: total annual population increase between the 1976 Census and the 1981 Census, minus the sum of (1) the intercensal estimate of natural increase and (11) the intercensal estimate of net migration. The residual thus accounts for "census error", which is the difference between the actual Census counts and the intercensal estimate of total annual population increase for that five-year period.
 (3) Fractional estimate of population based on 1981 Census counts.
 Source: Statistics Canada.
 N/A: not available.

Figure 2.1 BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FOR CANADA (1976-1986) BY CALENDAR YEAR

Note: Data in this figure is from Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels (1987). Employment and Immigration, 1987.
 Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

The Report, as well, offers several global directives guiding immigration policy.

Canada's immigration policy has several goals, some of which conflict and require trade-offs. Demographic objectives involve our federal government in choices concerning the size, rate of growth, and age structure of the Canadian population. Social or humanitarian objectives focus on family reunification and the admission of refugees. Economic objectives are general, fostering the development of a strong and viable economy and the prosperity of all regions of Canada (p. 662).

In addition to supporting economic goals, then, immigration is also firmly tied to population planning, to family unification and to humanitarian objectives.

The document, *Annual Report to Parliament on Future Immigration Levels (1987)*, announced a special "Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy," with anticipated publication by the federal department of Health and Welfare in 1989. Here, a firm connection between population change and immigration is established within an international population perspective. "The emerging reality for developed countries, and Canada is no exception, is that population decline is inevitable in the long term, given current below-replacement fertility rates and current immigration levels" (Employment and Immigration, 1987).

The issue of population development is, at time of writing, quite prominent. Aside from the vast body of research and writing from sources such as Statistics Canada and the Department of Employment and Immigration, articles about the population issue are now beginning to appear in the newspaper: "Young Canada senile soon, experts fear" (Edmonton Journal, June 5 1988); "Birth rate boost vital, report says" (Edmonton Journal, April 5 1989); "People: Too many? Not enough?" (Edmonton Journal, March 5, 1989).

Population is a vast topic, one which educators, social scientists and Canadians generally must address in order to minimize tensions associated with change. From the point of view of this research, however, population is a dynamic entity, a central aspect of national development, and the context in which education responds to the needs of adult newcomers to participate in Canadian society.

Immigration and the Context of the Study

Central to this discussion, then, will be the specific characteristics of the immigrant population: the proportion of adults who arrive as young, middle-aged or older people; educational background; the role of culture in adaptation; gender. As well, the reader will need to understand the educational context as it relates to the larger society, and to immigrant concerns specifically. Educational issues will be addressed from a theoretical perspective as part of this chapter. Specific data describing the actual educational context in Edmonton will be introduced in Chapter 3.

B. Characteristics of the Immigrant Population

In its document, *Immigration to Alberta (1986)*, Alberta Career Development and Employment provides this background:

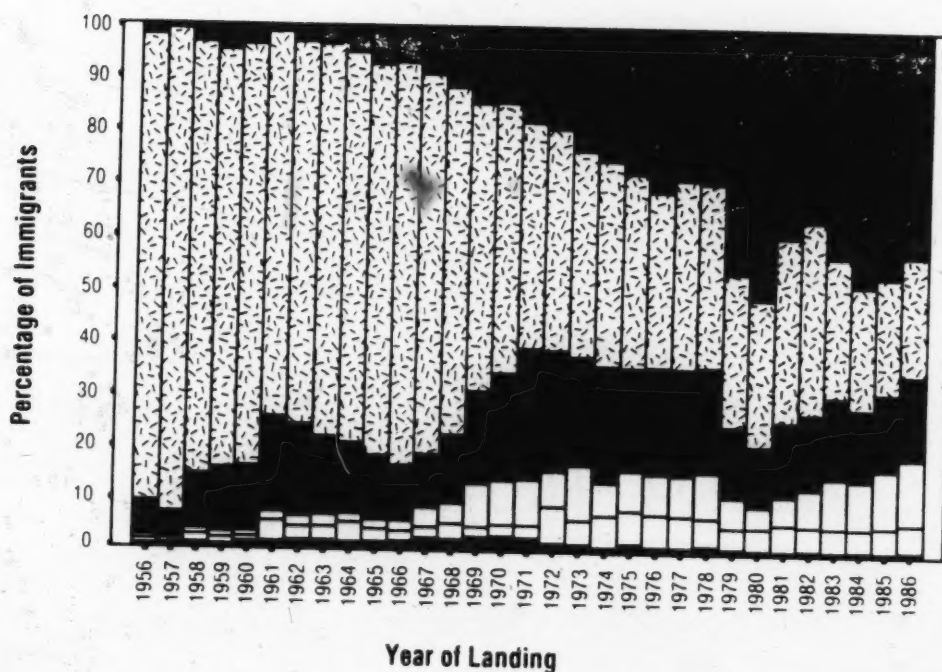
1. *Origins of Immigrants* – Since 1981, immigration from Europe has decreased from 43 per cent to 20.8 per cent in 1986. Immigration from Asia has increased to 44.5 per cent over the same period. In fact, Figure 2.2 (Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees) illustrates how dramatic these changes are. Since 1960, we can see a rapid annual increase in immigration, particularly from Asia, while immigration from Europe continues to decrease. European countries are facing the same low fertility rates as those experienced in North America (Taylor, 1987). Immigration from Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa has also shown marked increase since 1970.

2. *Knowledge of English and Cultural Background* – While more than 50 per cent of all immigrants and 85 per cent of refugees to Alberta in 1986 had no English, the overall majority of immigrants arriving "need further English instruction before being able to function in the job market" (Alberta Career Development and Employment, 1986).

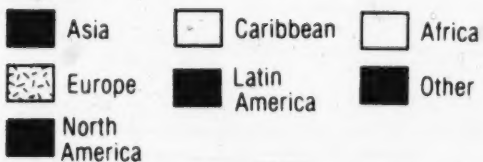
Figure 2.2

Regions of Origin by Year of Landing

Canada 1956-1986



Legend



Note: Data in this figure is from After the Door Has Been Opened: Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees in Canada. Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988. Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada.

As well, immigrants from countries in Southeast Asia, India or parts of Africa, use languages which have entirely different linguistic roots from European languages. "They also hold ideas about the place of family in one's life, about religion, and about how society should be organized that are vastly different from those of most Canadians" (Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988).

3. *Educational Background* — Educationally, of immigrants arriving in Alberta in 1986, Career Development and Employment observes that "approximately ten per cent ... had university degrees, 14 per cent had no formal education. The majority of the remaining 76 per cent had less than secondary education. Numbers of years in school, however, tell only part of the story. Education and training in cultures different from Canada may not be transferrable in practice to equivalency levels in Alberta."

It will be an important goal of this study to examine the demands for adult education expressed by the immigrant community within the context of the educational profile just described.

4. *Age Distribution* — As age is an important factor associated with demographic planning and with educational planning, its composition should be noted in current and planned immigration. Statistics Canada figures for 1981-82 indicate that, while 31.1 per cent of immigrants ranged from 0-19 years, some 45.6 per cent were in the age range from 20-39. Older immigrants made up less than 20 per cent of the total. This trend is shown to continue as Employment and Immigration figures for Alberta (1987) show that 27 per cent of all immigrants to Edmonton were aged 0-19 while those in the 20-39 age group comprised slightly more than 50 per cent of the total! Again, older immigrants were roughly 20 per cent of all newcomers. (Alberta Region, Employment and Immigration, 1988)

As to future trends, should immigration continue to be increased in response to demographic concerns, we can anticipate that age will be a consideration in

recruitment. Canadian demographer David Foot (1986) observes that "meeting the requirements of the age-directed immigration program ... requires source populations which can be expected to be significantly younger than Canada's over the next 20 years." While increasing immigration of children has been considered by Employment and Immigration (Hersak and Fancolini, 1987), it is unlikely, for ethical reasons, that such a trend would receive widespread public support. It seems much more likely that a large proportion of any increase would continue to be in the young adult 20-39 range.

5. *Proportion of Total Population* – Data available on this topic is not extremely current. Employment and Immigration's 1987 document, *Profiles of Canadian Immigration*, includes the information that "at the beginning of the century, there were 700, 000 foreign-born Canadians representing 13 per cent of the total population. In 1981, foreign-born Canadians reached almost 4 million or 16 per cent of the total population. Every seventh Canadian is foreign-born" (p. 5). This is a significant proportion of our total population. We may further extrapolate from the data in Figure 2.1 that the figure of 16 per cent foreign-born declined slightly until recently. Immigration, however, is again increasing and we may anticipate the ratio of foreign-born to be reflected in such changes.

Educational Considerations

A significant proportion of total immigration (roughly fifty per cent) continues to fall within the 20-39 age range. It is important to recognize and respond to the educational needs of this sizeable group. As well, with a growing number of immigrants from non-European source countries, linguistic and cultural differences must also be considered within an educational framework. A homogeneous Canadian population cannot be assumed.

C. Language and Education

The relationship between language and education is significant, a correlation which will recur throughout this study. Although *education* was highlighted in the Alberta Settlement Services (1986) report as an element of an immigrant's preparation which is not readily transferrable to the Canadian context, the tendency of government and of adult education programmes, generally, has been to isolate *English* as the skill which immigrants must develop to facilitate their adaptation. Employment and Immigration's National Industrial Training Programme provides funding for language training "courses offered to immigrants, natives or interprovincial migrants who have difficulty finding employment because of lack of fluency in English or French" (Employment and Immigration, 1984, p. 33). The inference is that if we can teach these people enough English, they can get jobs. As the report from Settlement Services illustrates, this just is not so. The issues of language and education are much more complex than that.

As early as 1969, the literature contains evidence of the problem of language and access to education. In her study of ESL in Canada, Newsham (1969) observed the lack of articulation between ESL classes and "regular" programmes and suggested the need for further study of language learning motivations of immigrants to Canada "since Canadian educational credentials are widely accepted as essential to upward social and occupational mobility" (p. 131).

In 1981, TESL Canada published its *Six Principles*, focussing on the need for adequate opportunities for immigrants to develop skills in English. Within the context of an officially bilingual Canada, the notion of facilitating access by immigrants to at least one of our official languages seemed a reasonable undertaking. TESL Canada recommended a two stage approach to language training — Stage I addressing language and settlement needs upon arrival; Stage II addressing the need for integrative opportunities in work and education. This document was important in identifying that

language skills are not a commodity which can be acquired in a period of twenty or thirty weeks, and that future policies regarding language training should acknowledge the ongoing nature of that process. The *Six Principles* document is still under discussion. Many of its recommendations, however, have yet to be realized.

In a report for Alberta Settlement Services, programme officer Gerry Denhart (1986) documented several reasons why immigrants participate in adult education. These include the need for academic upgrading, the need for further education to prepare for professional or occupation accreditation, the need to qualify for journeyman's examinations. Denhart refers to the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) as "the important passport to gain entry to further academic and/or professional/occupational career goals" (p. 8). This statement identifies the current practice of many adult education institutions to require certain "competence" in English as a prerequisite to admission of an immigrant or foreign student.

The use of such tests, generally, has received mixed reviews. Janet Graham, an American language educator and researcher, in a recent review of the literature concerning English language entrance testing concludes that "the relationship between English proficiency and academic success is complex and unclear and ... language test scores should not therefore play a disproportionate role in admissions decisions" (Graham, 1987).

While my research does not directly address the issue of language entrance testing, it may reveal data which is relevant to future discussions of the role of such testing, particularly the data collected from immigrants who may already have participated in adult education.

D. The Contexts of ESL Education

The practice of isolating immigrants for language learning until they can compete with native speakers is fairly universal in adult education, although the the model

adopted in the K-12 situation and the philosophy guiding adaptation of young immigrant students is quite different. Generally, in K-12, the motivation is to integrate immigrant students gradually, as they gain skills in English.

All learners must have exposure to the target language in use before they can learn it. The ideal conditions for learning are met when the environment provides each individual with ample opportunity to hear and to use the target language in meaningful and involving discourse with speakers of the language. In school, the ideal kind of situation is where there are as many native speakers of the language as there are learners, and classes organized and planned in ways that provide numerous and varied activities that learners and speakers can engage in together (Wong Fillmore, 1982: p. 170).

Alberta Education curriculum for ESL at the high school level treats the learning of language as transitional to regular or "mainstream" programming. Curriculum proceeds from basic English to skill-specific language in response to changing needs.

Mohan (1986, p. 4), a noted Canadian language educator and researcher, examines the three stages in recent development of educational policies for ESL learners.

1. *Learning by exposure to an English-speaking community* — The learner is left to pick up English through informal language learning.
2. *Isolated language teaching* — The learner is engaged in formal language learning as a separate and isolated activity.
3. *Interactive language teaching* — language teaching for and through the normal activities of the school and the English-speaking community; language teaching through content and for content. Positive steps are taken to relate the language course to the communicative environment. Interactive language teaching is an educational policy which recognizes the importances of language as a medium of learning.

ESL programming for children, as outlined by Alberta Education, is philosophically in the third policy camp. In adult education, where there is no provincial curriculum, however, much more latitude in the adoption of programme design is possible. In fact, as I will show, most adult ESL programming continues to be of the isolated language teaching variety. What does this say about the role of language as a medium of learning among adults? Wong Fillmore (1982, p. 170), an American second language acquisition researcher, observes that:

It is frequently the case that language learners find themselves in classrooms where there are few competent speakers of the target language other than teachers to interact with, and they must then base their learning exclusively on the language used by their teachers. Language learners who find themselves in such classrooms face a serious problem, a problem shared with learners who lack the social skills to interact with speakers of the new language in any situation: *they will find it difficult to get adequate exposure to the new language, and enough practice speaking it so it can be learned* [emphasis added].

Access to learning can be a powerful motivator. Mason (1971) reported that he followed foreign students taking intensive ESL and a matched group in regular academic programmes, finding no significant difference in overall English achievement. While his was a singular study, it certainly raises some questions about isolationist and integrative programme models. What kind of models exist which are likely to promote successful integration of adult immigrants? In addition, while acknowledging the significance of Mason's findings, to generalize broadly from an isolated example involving foreign students to our diverse immigrant population would be absurd. Certainly language teaching is needed to enable participation in education and society. The question is, though, in what context and how?

The full context of language use includes mother tongue as well as usage of the second language, and their treatment by the educational community. Where does language teaching belong and what is the rationale for its placement. Do students become "special" solely because of their language background? What role do educational background and experience play in our placement of learning opportunities for immigrants? Or are immigrants, first and foremost, people who do not know English? Is not knowing English a defensible criterion for excluding newcomers from educational opportunities other than language classes?

The question of exclusion on the basis of language proficiency is gaining increasing attention as it relates to minority participation in society and to our expression of a multicultural society. Canadian educators and psychologists Bain and Yu (1986) consider the role of education in the acculturation of immigrants within the context of

Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. They examine the differential treatment of bilingualism as it is applied in both official language and minority language groups in Canada and argue that, under the Charter "educational and economic opportunity cannot be denied on the basis of language" (p. 213). Such statements have major implications for many current educational policies.

E. The Reality of Adult Education

To look at the paucity of references in the literature, one would think that very few immigrants participate in adult education, except for ESL classes. Berrol (1976) describes the development of adult evening schools in New York City in the early part of the twentieth century in response to immigrant needs for vocational skills, basic education and "Americanization." As the status of the evening schools increased, however, they began to assume a different role and, by 1935, had changed their focus to attract more native-born Americans. Although there is nothing that I could find written about the evolution of night school in Canada, we can infer that, as Canadians faced many of the same pressures to assimilate large numbers of immigrants at the turn of the century, it is likely that night schools in larger centres, such as Toronto, may have had similar origins.

A study by Canadian ESL educator and researcher Maureen Hynes (1987) of minority participation at George Brown College in Toronto is the only directly related research I could find. She used demographic data, community resources, interviews with individuals, organizations and staff to examine the college's response to an increasingly multicultural community. The metaphor for a proposed response is "the two-way street."

Consultations with members of diverse racial and cultural communities produced a sense of the College holding for these groups a vast resource of training potential, that could enable them to upgrade their lives — if the College could take on certain changes to make the programs and practices of the College itself more sensitive, accessible, flexible and

comprehensible. Conversely, the College has at its doorstep, in a period of shrinking enrollment and shrinking funding, vast numbers of community members in need of a wide variety of training programs (Hynes, 1987: p. 6).

Recommendations made by the study are wide-ranging, addressed to policy, access, outreach, staff development, advocacy, admissions and counselling, programming and curriculum content. Their realization, will have a major impact on all aspects of George Brown's operation.

A 1979 study by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) provides some curious perspectives and statistics regarding national participation in higher education by landed immigrants. For the purposes of the researchers, landed immigrants were grouped together with foreign students and labelled "non-Canadians." By grouping them in this way, however, it seems that immigrants have more in common with foreign students, based on their foreign origins, than with Canadians. Both Canadians and immigrants, however, have a legal right to live, work, study and contribute to Canada and, presumably, it is the goal of immigrants to make Canada their permanent home. The distinction made, therefore, serves to isolate rather than to unify, and represents a particular bias toward the issue.

The AUCC study proceeds from an assumption that most people enrol directly in higher education following high school: "the majority of the undergraduate landed immigrants would have entered Canada accompanied by their parents" (p. 29), which is contradicted by later findings: "Data for the upper age range show that landed immigrants are significantly older than Canadians, while visa students are somewhat younger" (p. 52). It is obvious that, in spite of all the data presented in the study, the realities faced by immigrants actually participating in the institutions surveyed remain unfathomable by the researchers' methods and perspectives.

What does emerge from the AUCC study is some interesting data concerning length of residence in Canada related to participation in higher education (AUCC, 1979: p. 55). Figures show a small peak after one year (1539 students) followed by a gradual decline,

then a much larger peak incorporating those in the 5-9 year residence category (2557 students). These figures show some correlation with estimates by Cummins (1984), a Canadian researcher of bilingualism, that development of fluent academic language skills in a new language may require from five to seven years. In saying this, however, I must reiterate that it is the *language* skills which occupy Cummins, as his goal is to support continuous access to subject area material during the second language learning process.

While addressing the needs of a specific segment of the community, it must be recognized that adult education institutions and programmes each face their own constraints. "Even when there is an underlying intention to reach a more equitable situation the conflict is between goals and the system of financing." (Rubenson, 1983, p. 27) There is considerable pressure on many of these schools to accept more new programmes each year, often with limited increases to funding allocations. By what criteria could a policy of equity be developed under these circumstances?

Examining actual levels of participation in part-time adult education programmes in Canada, Devereaux (1985) found that, outside of Quebec, those with a mother tongue other than French or English accounted for 14 per cent of participation, and that, particularly for men, the interest was in job-related courses (accounting for some 54 per cent of responses). For women, the situation was somewhat different, with the major purpose for study given as personal development/general interest (p. 28). The gender-based distinction in responses is intriguing, though not unpredictable. Studies by graduate students and researchers Mickelson (1978) and Cheng-Jardine (1988) both concluded that existing programmes available to immigrants are not meeting many of the specific educational needs of immigrant women.

F. Acknowledging Diversity in the Universe of Learners

The notion of individual learner variability is at the centre of the debate regarding the role of language in education and the role of education in immigrant adaptation. How much variability can be accommodated within one class? What are the implications of learner variability on curriculum, on methodology, on programme standards?

In relation to adult education specifically, Smith (1982) describes demographic changes similar to those in Canada now experienced in the United States, and outlines implications for a context where "structures and curricula ... still largely assume homogeneity of purpose, background, and preparation on the part of students while the people on hand are a different and more diversely prepared lot indeed" (p. 7). Smith considers the demographic question to be one which educators are already facing. Adult students today include a broader representation of population in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and class. As population changes, education and educators must evolve to address the needs of a broader range of students.

Furnborough et al (1982, p. 251) identify the concerns of institutions in broaching the topic of equity for minorities in education.

By treating everyone alike, the system is fair. Any positive action which acknowledges that minority groups are disadvantaged, both at the structural and interactional level, is seen as unfair special treatment. Recognizing the fact of communicative diversity, for example, is interpreted as lowering the standards.

Egalitarianism may thus be used as a rationale to discount personal competence in view of requisite linguistic competence. Noted American critical theorist and educator Ira Shor (1986, p. 65) relates such methods to their social outcomes.

Language is part of the machinery that decides who will be masters and who will be servants. The dialect that dominates indicates the group that dominates. The nakedness of power politics here is unsuitable, however, for waging culture war, so the issue had to be hidden behind a 'neutral' screen of 'standards', 'quality' and 'excellence'.

Egalitarianism is the basis for the isolated development of compensatory programmes like ESL. All ESL students lack certain English skills. Based on this communal lack, not considering individual student needs or goals, they are grouped together. Students have "special" problems which regular classroom teachers are not prepared to deal with, so they must acquire classroom skills before they can participate in the classroom! Fantini (1972) calls this "rehabilitating the learner to fit the standard process" (p. 18).

G. Acknowledging Competence — Toward a Philosophy of Tolerance

Do differences among learners mean that teaching is unmanageable or are there other ways to consider difference? The distinguished American sociolinguist Hymes (1979) is particularly interested in this question as it relates to language use. He relates the story of bilingualism and its historical association with social and educational handicap in the early part of this century. Considering the times in which we now live, he observes ironically that "liberality with regard to religion and sex does not seem to extend to speech" (p. 37). Why is it that we can tolerate difference of one kind while rejecting another?

Hymes' use of the term "competence" as a lens through which individual differences should be viewed encourages us to look for potential in individuals rather than difference. Though linguistic and overall competence are intersecting features, they should not be regarded as synonymous. Linguistic competence should not be equated with personal competence.

Competence as a term for ideal knowledge may overcome inequality conceptually for linguists, but only as a term for the abilities of persons, assessed in relation to contexts of use, can it help to overcome inequality practically for the members of speech communities (Hymes, 1980, p. 54).

H. Recognizing Competence — Toward Integration

What are the societal outcomes of an approach to immigrant adaptation which focuses on difference rather than diversity? Such a system produces isolated educational opportunities (ESL), isolated social service agencies (settlement agencies), and, inevitably, varying degrees of social and economic enclosure of cultural communities. We are alienating a growing segment of our society.

When we refer to structural pluralism we are focusing on institutional differences in ethnic groups which separate or enclose them from dominant or majority groups in terms of social participation. Hence we may also speak of this as *social* pluralism which designates the same dimension of the problem. Social or structural pluralism varies from maximal to minimal forms which can be conceptualized as degrees of enclosure with indicators like endogamy, ecological concentration, institutional duplication, associational clustering, rigidity and clarity of group definition, segmentary relations of members with outsiders, etc. (Schermerhorn, 1970: p. 127).

The rhetoric of multiculturalism is empty without a widespread understanding of its implications and a range of dynamic strategies by which it might be implemented.

By examining the role of minorities within rather than apart from mainstream adult education, the role of the educator becomes central. Cummins (1986, p. 21) attaches the possibility of any change to the will of educators to redefine their roles vis a vis minorities. He outlines four characteristics of education which will promote minority integration and advancement. These are:

- (1) incorporation of minority languages and cultures into the school programme;
- (2) participation of minority communities in education;
- (3) use of pedagogy which promotes active use of language to generate new knowledge; and
- (4) involvement of professionals in assessment who advocate minority students rather than legitimizing their location as 'problems'.

The Alberta Council on Tolerance and Understanding (1984) identified schools as instrumental in the interpretation of multiculturalism in society. While their committee report addressed mainly issues in K-12 education, recommendations are

equally applicable to the large number of adults in Alberta schools. Continued appeals to egalitarianism as exemption from responsibility on the part of adult education programmes only serve to maintain the status quo.

The educational system reproduces the capitalist social division of labor, in part, through a correspondence between !) its own internal social relationships and those of the workplace (Bowles and Gintis, 1976: p. 147).

I. Education and National Development

In a society, like Canada's, with so many potential interest groups — the bilinguals, the multiculturals, the aboriginals, the industrials, the environmentals, the list goes on — constant overemphasis on differences among groups can obscure our necessarily mutual goals. The Club of Rome addressed this issue on a world-wide scale in its report, *No Limits to Learning* (1979, p. 116), by stating that "the outlook that stresses the role of diverse people in creating culture could become the backbone of the concept of "global interdependence." Recognition of the potential within our diversity is a response to the question of education's role, not just in tackling social issues, but in addressing global issues. To educate the future's true problem-solvers and innovators we must embrace difference as potential, not as handicap.

How different are the goals of "average" Canadians from those of immigrants? Why is it that we insist on segregating them from the rest of the population until they learn to communicate our way? Clive Beck (1975, p. 16), a Canadian philosopher educator explains:

Because we have overlooked the similarities between immigrants and non-immigrants as human beings, we have thought of immigrant education as a very special process, whereas in fact, in its more important aspects — notably cultural, social and moral education — it should be almost identical.

Our educational treatment of immigrants relates to our perceptions of their needs and our needs. What have we been doing, however, to test the validity of these perceptions?

CHAPTER 3 — DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This study begins with a problem: in what ways do immigrants participate in the adult education community of Edmonton? The problem itself presents a conundrum. Most adult education programmes do not keep specific records separating out immigrant participation from that of any other group. In one sense, this is good. Collecting data about the ethnic origins of students could be construed as discriminatory. In another sense, however, this absence of documentation makes it almost impossible to say anything meaningful about immigrant participation. Could it be logically inferred, then, that if nothing countable can be produced, there is no purpose in research?

In fact, the opposite may be closer to the truth. What we need to understand are the circumstances of immigrant participation, the balance between the aspirations of minorities and the goals of mainstream programmes. The methodology developed to address the constraints of this study has been, necessarily, eclectic, involving a survey, interviews, and statistical information. At its inception, this study was planned only as a survey, involving four populations: adult ESL programmes, adult education programmes, funders of ESL programmes and immigrant settlement agencies. Four separate questionnaires were developed, each gauged to the perspective and role of the particular group surveyed. I planned to compare and contrast perspectives across these four fields on a variety of issues relating to the research problem of how immigrants participate in adult education in Edmonton.

Practical considerations led to the modification and further delimitation of the design. These included:

1. problematic usage of the term "adult education," which can be used to describe a whole range of programmes, from leadership development programmes for Scout leaders to prenatal courses for prospective parents to graduate studies in adult

education. More adequate definition of this term, for the purposes of the study, was required.

Three types of adult education may be identified, according to the classification offered by Coombs and Ahmed (1974, p. 8). These are distinguished as formal, informal and nonformal adult education. Formal education is hierarchical, institutionalized and graded, spanning primary to university level programmes. Informal education describes programmes associated with the "lifelong" learning movement and includes "knowledge, skills and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment." Nonformal education includes "any organized, systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children."

The adult education programmes surveyed in this study include all three types of learning opportunities, but did not include specialist offerings (e.g. time management seminars, public health, recreation), except for English as a second language programmes, which are directly relevant to the question.

2. absence of the perspective of the individual. The perspective provided by demographic information is global, that of the survey is institutional. Neither of these perspectives can, however, incorporate the perspective of the individual. The original study was modified to incorporate several personal histories of immigrants, intended not to represent the spectrum of histories within the immigrant community, but to provide a human dimension to issues which could otherwise disappear behind questions of programmes and priorities.

Research Components

- a. *Questionnaires* – Different forms of the questionnaire were designed for the four groups surveyed: Form A – ESL Programmes; Form B Adult Education Programmes; Form C – ESL Programme Funders; and Form D -Settlement

Agencies (see Appendix I). Questions were constructed across all four forms to solicit parallel input about immigrant participation in adult education. All information obtained was for the year 1987. A variety of types of questions were asked but, because of the small size of the total group (N=35), detailed quantitative analysis proved impractical.

Participation was explicitly anonymous and voluntary. Anonymity was offered in order to encourage broad participation and to reduce the threat of specific programme identification with any potential conflict. Level of participation here is related to community size. Edmonton is a city of approximately 600, 000, and the number of programmes and agencies participating in this study is proportionate to this size. The rate of return experienced was 76 per cent overall (Form A – 15 out, 11 in, 73%; Form B – 22 out, 13 in – 59%; Form C – 4 out, 4 in – 100%; Form D – 8 out, 6 in, 75%).

Beginning in October 1988, the researcher personally met with agency/programme contacts to introduce the study and to seek participation. These were identified through community directories, including the telephone book. Contact was generally established with the agency or programme by telephone and an appointment made to introduce the research. Each interview consisted of presentation of background data to the problem, discussion and clarification (where necessary) of questionnaire items. Participation was voluntary in all cases. Follow-up interviews were made with participants whose information required clarification.

- b. *Case stories* – Contacts were established through settlement agencies or personal connections. Interviews were arranged to explain the purpose of the study and to seek involvement. All participation was explicitly anonymous and voluntary. Stories were recorded through interview notes, then transcribed into narrative form. Each one was approved by the storyteller for accuracy and tone before its inclusion.

- c. *Demographic Data* — Two central sources of demographic data were employed to provide societal background for this study's more localized information. The 1986 Census included a special volume, called *Profile of ethnic groups* (Statistics Canada, 1989). As well, Employment and Immigration Canada provided several relevant publications.

Particular demographic features pertain to adult education: immigrant population size relative to the general population, age distribution, immigration patterns, educational history, rates of unemployment, earnings. As it is useful to compare the experience of relatively new groups with that of more established groups, similar information for Aboriginal, French, British and Metis is also included.

Eight groups were selected for profile on the basis of their representation in recent immigration. These include:

- Cambodia
- Vietnam
- Other Latin America (includes El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and a few South American countries)
- Korea
- Poland
- Romania
- Chile
- The Punjab

Information for those with single origins only was used. Statistics Canada advises that ethnocultural data is based on a twenty per cent sample of the total group.

The group "Chinese," though well-represented among recent newcomers, was not included for a number of reasons. Among the total group, "Chinese," it is difficult to distinguish between nationality, language and ethnicity. Some people may be ethnically Chinese, but come from Malaysia or Central America. As well, the Chinese "language" includes a number of dialects, some which are as distinct from each other as many European languages, each of which has its own geographic and cultural features. Further, Chinese immigration to Canada has extended for over a hundred years. It is

difficult to compare the experience of recent arrivals from Hong Kong with that of more established Toisan people.

Figure 3.1 DESCRIPTIVE SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS

Form A — ESL Programme Participants

Part-time	A1 — Institutional continuing education
	A2 — Ethnic community-based agency
	A3 — Community volunteer programme
	A4 — School board programme
	A5 — Immigrant settlement agency
	A6 — School board programme
	A7 — Immigrant settlement agency
	A8 — Institutional continuing education
Full-time	A9 — Institutional programme
	A10 — School board programme
	A11 — School board programme

Form B — Adult Education Programme Participants

Credit	B1 — Institutional programme
	B2 — School board continuing education
	B3 — Institution
	B4 — Institutional programme
	B5 — Institutional programme
	B6 — Institutional programme
	B7 — Institution
Non-credit	B8 — School board continuing education
	B9 — Institutional continuing education
	B10 — School board continuing education
	B11 — Job re-entry programme
	B12 — Institutional programme
	B13 — Job re-entry programme

Form C — ESL Programme Funders

- C1 — Provincial
- C2 — Provincial
- C3 — Federal
- C4 — Federal

Form D — Settlement Agencies

- D1 — Church-sponsored agency
- D2 — Ethnic community-sponsored agency
- D3 — Ethnic community-sponsored agency
- D4 — Community-based agency
- D5 — Community-based agency
- D6 — Ethnic community-sponsored agency
- D7 — Community-based agency

Analysis of Survey Data

First, a tally was made for quantitative data within each group. ESL full-time and part-time programmes were tabulated separately, as were credit and non-credit adult education, in consideration of anticipated differences in response related to programme characteristics.

Verbal comments were assembled, by question and group. To facilitate examination of this information across the four groups, related responses were analyzed by question, and organized around thematic clusters.

Analyses integrating the perspectives of programmers, social participation and the needs of individuals requires that I provide several approaches. Chapter 4, the presentation of findings, is accordingly divided into three parts focussing on the societal, the institutional, and the personal. A more global consideration of the placement of ESL programmes within the framework of adult education, and its reflection in employment and social participation, however, bears further consideration within Canada's commitment to multiculturalism. This perspective is presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4 — IMMIGRANTS AND THE CONTEXT OF SCHOOLING

This chapter approaches the problem of immigrant participation in adult education from several perspectives: Part I examines the relationship of ESL and adult education as reported by survey participants as well as described in the literature; Part II considers the socioeconomic participation of immigrants with attendant implications for adult education; Part III again draws on survey findings to identify specific factors which affect immigrants' needs for adult education. These three perspectives — programme, society and the individual — provide a base for Chapter 5, an analysis of the implications for adult education within a multicultural society.

Introduction

A newly-arrived adult immigrant or refugee to Canada faces a number of major tasks in adaptation. A new country presents new ways of doing things and getting things done; it often requires learning and using a new language; it challenges the newcomer's sense of self, status and society. The experience may be seen as even more stressful, recognizing that the individual's traditional support networks of family and community have been disrupted.

Immigrant adults each have their own educational and employment history and a central goal of their adaptation will be to try to match their skills and abilities with the exigencies of this new country, to find a place. This is the arena of government-sponsored language training, the context of immigrant participation in adult education.

Education creates points of contact between newcomer and society which are multicultural by very nature of the participants. They magnify the ambiguity between the known, that is, given fields of expertise, and the unknown, the experience of these fields in societies other than our own. We can never presume a complete match between

how Canadians understand things and how people in other countries might understand the same thing. Education has a role to play in justifying these two positions, the newcomer's and the society's.

A Closer Look at Some of the Groups

To comprehend the range of experience across the spectrum of newcomers requires some understanding of the specific groups concerned. In Chapter 2, I described the composition of Canadian immigration changing from majority sources in Europe to including a larger proportion of individuals from more culturally different nations in Asia, Central and South America. Figure 4.1 (Employment and Immigration, 1988a) illustrates this point, showing actual proportions for the year 1987. Note that the "Others" category includes, by far, the largest proportion of all newcomers.

Supplementary unpublished data from Employment and Immigration reveals that groups in this category with more than one hundred members are mainly from developing countries including Brunei, the People's Republic of China, Fiji, Guyana, Iran, Jamaica, Romania and Tanzania (Employment and Immigration, 1988b).

More detailed information concerning the social and economic participation of specific minorities is available from the 1986 census. I have selected representative groups for this examination, including Cambodian, Vietnamese, Other Latin American (including Nicaraguan, El Salvadorean, Guatemalan, Colombian, Bolivian), Korean, Polish, Chilean and Punjabi. Information regarding individuals claiming single origins only was used in order to limit the number of variables to be considered. For purposes of overall comparison, these groups are also compared with more established groups: Aborigines, French, English and Metis.

Figure 4.2 illustrates the relative numbers and arrival patterns of the immigrant groups profiled. With the exception of the Polish, all groups are relative newcomers. This is important to note since we may anticipate that recent Polish arrivals may

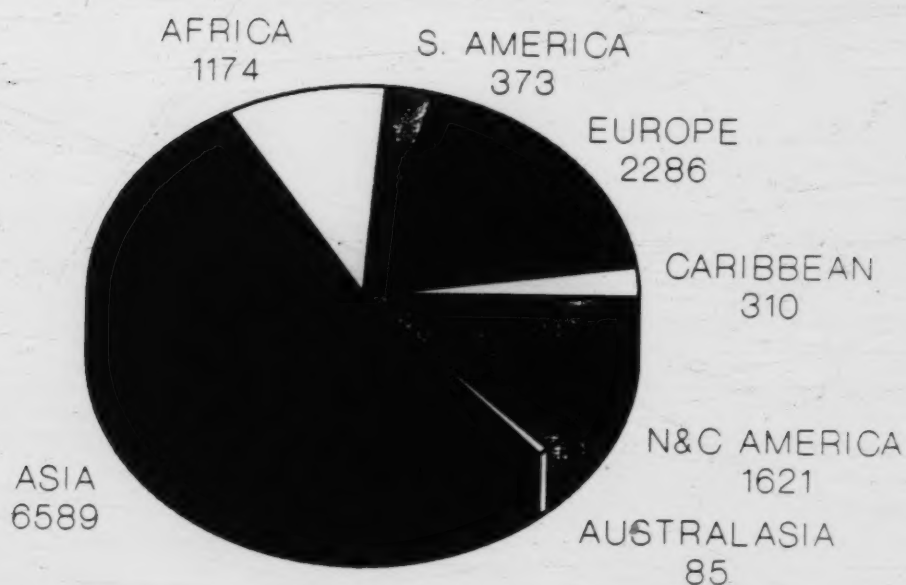


Figure 4.1 IMMIGRATION TO ALBERTA 1987
(BY WORLD AREA) TOTAL: 11,975

Note: This figure is from Immigration Week Information Package. Alberta Region, Canada Employment and Immigration, 1988.

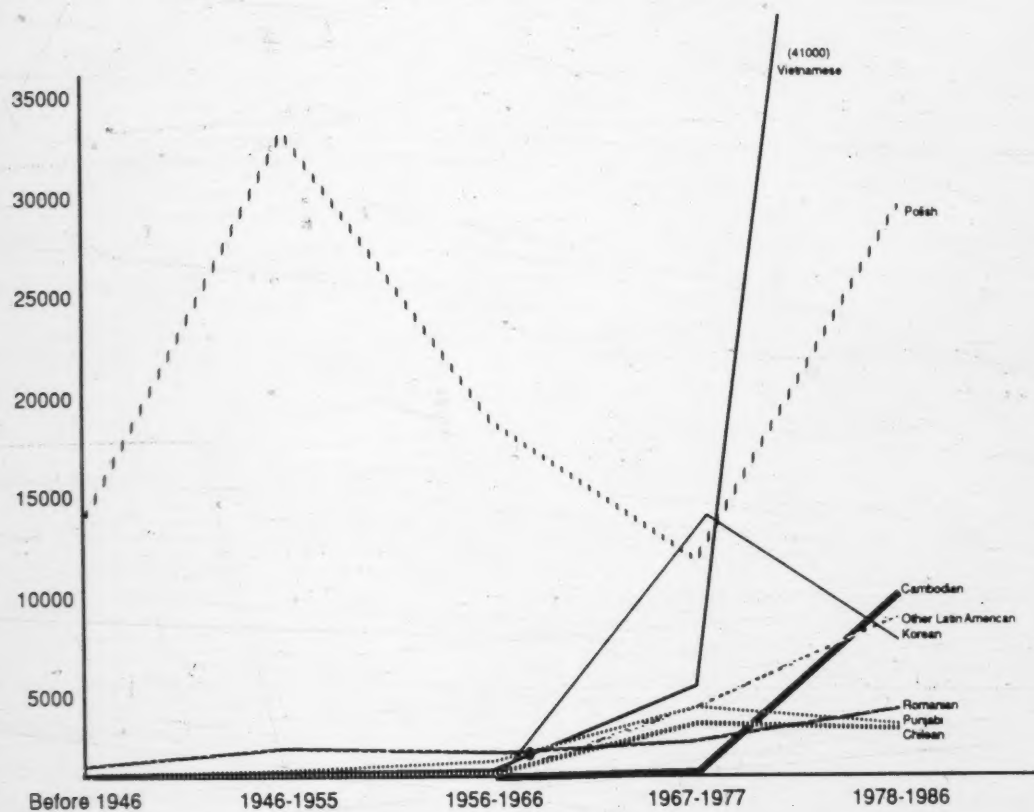


Figure 4.2 IMMIGRATION PATTERNS - SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS
(PRE-1946-1986(10))

Note: Data in this figure is from Census Canada 1986: Profile of ethnic groups.
Statistics Canada, 1989. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

receive some support from an established cultural community while large numbers of Vietnamese may face a more difficult adaptation with fewer countrymen preceding them. Length of residence should correlate with adaptation and participation. But will it correlate in the same way among all groups? This is an important question as it relates to social participation generally, and to the role which education plays in the process of adaptation.

Part I — ESL in the Context of Adult Education

Context of the Survey

The four population groups participating in the survey represent various points of multicultural contact relating to education and the process of adaptation. These are:

- Group A — ESL Programmes
- Group B — Adult Education Programmes
- Group C — ESL Programme Funders
- Group D — Immigrant Settlement Agencies

By posing similar questions across all groups, a series of comparisons can be drawn to outline the situation of immigrant participation in adult education and to document various perceptions of the role of education in facilitating the unlocking of newcomer skills and abilities. These have been examined in view of considerations outlined in Chapter 2, namely: the interaction of language and education, demographic considerations, the learning context, the recognition of diversity within the adult learner population, and the role of competence.

Programme Goals

Programme orientation is of specific note in comparing goals across the groups. Both ESL Programmes and Immigrant Settlement Agencies are population specific.

That is, their task is to address the learning and settlement needs of a particular population. Funding received is often explicitly targeted toward newcomers and settlement. Adult Education Programmes, on the other hand, are goal specific. When asked about their goals, programmers included comments such as "programming in any area for which there is a need or a demand" (B2), "programming in education at the post-secondary level" (B7), "post secondary job related education to Albertans, Canadians and foreign students in line with industry and student needs and leading to direct entry to the job market" (B3).

This difference in focus is noteworthy. As this analysis progresses, the reader will see that many of the observations made by ESL programmes and settlement agencies relate to specific *learner* goals while those made by adult education programmers relate to *programme* goals.

The fact of such diverse starting points alone creates the potential for conflicting views of issues central to this study, issues such as recognition of competence and acknowledgement of diversity within the learner population. It is necessary, however, to dig deeper into this distinction to understand its significance, both in education and across our society.

ESL Programmes — Learners and Learner Goals

Asked about students' learning goals, ESL Programme participants responded largely in accordance with the priorities of their respective funders: part-time ESL programmers rated communication skills as highest while full-time programmers suggested employment as the number one priority. Funders of full-time programmes both described preparation for employment as their major goal. The part-time funder, on the other hand, described the primary goal as "to meet the individual learning needs of adults in the community." C2's response, taken from departmental funding

guidelines, reflects the overall commitment to all programmes funded by that department.

Part-time programmes rated both communication and interaction with Canadians as of greater importance than employment while their full-time counterparts ranked employment, communication and other adult education as their top three priorities. Literacy was rated as fourth or fifth by both ESL programmers and their funders.

Such a rating is curious in view of findings of the Southam Literacy Study (1987) that immigrants represent about one quarter of all those in Canada with basic literacy needs. The rating could indicate limited provision in ESL programmes for those with literacy needs resulting in limited participation by this group. It could be related to awareness of the literacy issue among funders and ESL programmers or it could just mean that there are few immigrants with literacy needs in the Edmonton area.

Census Canada data (1989) provides some support for the first position. Figure 4.6 reveals that, among ethnic groups profiled, with the exception of the Koreans, all have comparable or larger proportions of members with limited education than those with French or English backgrounds. It is surprising, then, that though literacy has become a priority area in mainstream adult education, its profile is somewhat lower in programmes designed specifically for immigrants.

The profile of learners in full- and part-time ESL programmes helps us to understand the implications of differences in programme goals. Part-time learners tend to be slightly older, more likely women and, with some exceptions, to have lower educational backgrounds compared with their full-time counterparts.

1. *Age:* Part-time respondents (A1, A2, A3, A6) reported more than 50 per cent enrollment of students aged 35 and over. Among full-time programmes, conversely, two reported more than 80 per cent below age 35. Recall that immigration of those in the age group 20 – 39 made up just under half of immigration to Edmonton (Employment and

Immigration, 1987) and it becomes clear that age is a major factor in eligibility for full-time, employment-oriented language training.

2. *Gender:* While full-time programmes are roughly equally available to both sexes (A9 – 50m/50f%; A10 – 59m/41f%; A11 – 50m/50f%), part-time programmes are more heavily subscribed to by women (A1 – 42.5m/57.5f%; A2 – 35m/65f%; A3 – 20m/80f%; A5 – 38m/62f%; A6 – 50m/50f%). A curious discrepancy, one wonders where the men have gone. If the men are working, why are there so many more women in English classes? Census data again provides some background to this question.

Figure 4.4 (Unemployment Rates – Selected Ethnic Groups Aged 25+) shows that, whether unemployment is low or high within a group, it tends to be higher, sometimes dramatically so, among the women in the group. Cambodian, Other Latin American, Chilean and Punjabi women are among the most severely affected, with rates comparable to or greater than those experienced among Aboriginal and Metis women.

That participation in part-time ESL programmes involves so many more women could suggest that women are more interested in goals of developing communication skills and interacting with Canadians than are their male counterparts. On the other hand, the census data concerning unemployment supports findings of studies by both Mickelson (1978) and Cheng-Jardine (1988), that there is a lack of accessible employment and educational opportunities for immigrant women. Part-time language classes provide a support group and the chance to learn more English. The question remains: are part-time ESL classes filling the real needs of this group?

3. *Educational background:* As with age, educational background is a significant factor in full-time ESL participation. Full-time programmes reported a majority of students with completed basic education or higher education (A9 – 53%; A10 90%).

Part-time students are likely less educated. Proportions of part-time students with less than ten years education are telling (A1 – 38%; A2 – 55%; A3 – 70%; A6 – 80%).

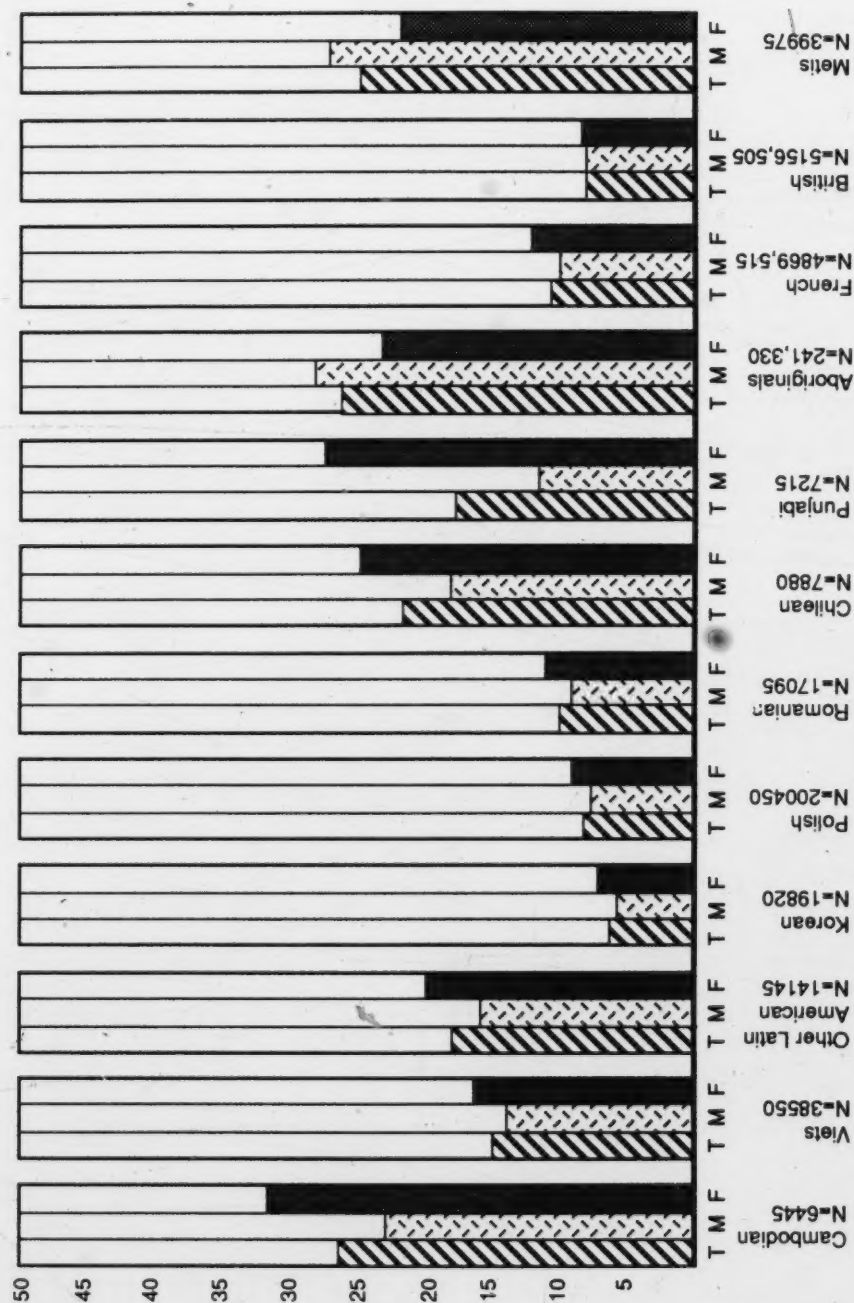


Figure 4.4 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES - SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS (AGED 25+)

Note: Data in this figure is from Census Canada 1986: Profile of ethnic groups.
Statistics Canada, 1989, Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services

4. *Length of residence:* Students in full-time programmes have generally been in Canada a shorter time. Programme A9 claims that 67 per cent of students have been in Canada less than a year while A11 shows the same ratio registered within the first three years. Part-time programmes tend to be more heavily weighted toward those in Canada longer than a year (A1 - 90%; A2 - 50%; A3 - 85%; A6 - 87%; A7 - 72%).

Discussion - ESL Learners and Learner Goals

ESL programme goals are integrative. Employment, communication and interaction with Canadians all suggest integrative objectives. The ESL setting, however, remains largely segregated both in terms of funding and programming. Yet how can segregated programmes result in integration? What is the context of that process?

Language teaching researchers such as Mohan (1986) and Wong Fillmore (1982) criticize this isolationist model as creating a dilemma for learners: with limited opportunities to use the language, how is proficiency to be achieved? Further, without involvement in mainstream programming, how are ESL programmes accountable for learner outcomes? How can they even measure them? Finally, without investing in the language development of ESL learners, how are mainstream programmes exempted from responsibility for the special needs of this group?

These are special needs. Many immigrants are continuing to seek English instruction after several years in Canada, as evidenced by the reports of part-time programmers. Consider the implications of this scenario. ESL learners may continue for years to study in segregated settings to develop proficiency in English. What are the outcomes for this largely female, largely older group? Figure 4.5 (Annual Income of Selected Groups) offers a strong indication of the effects of such segregation in that minority women represent the most economically disadvantaged segment of Canadian society.

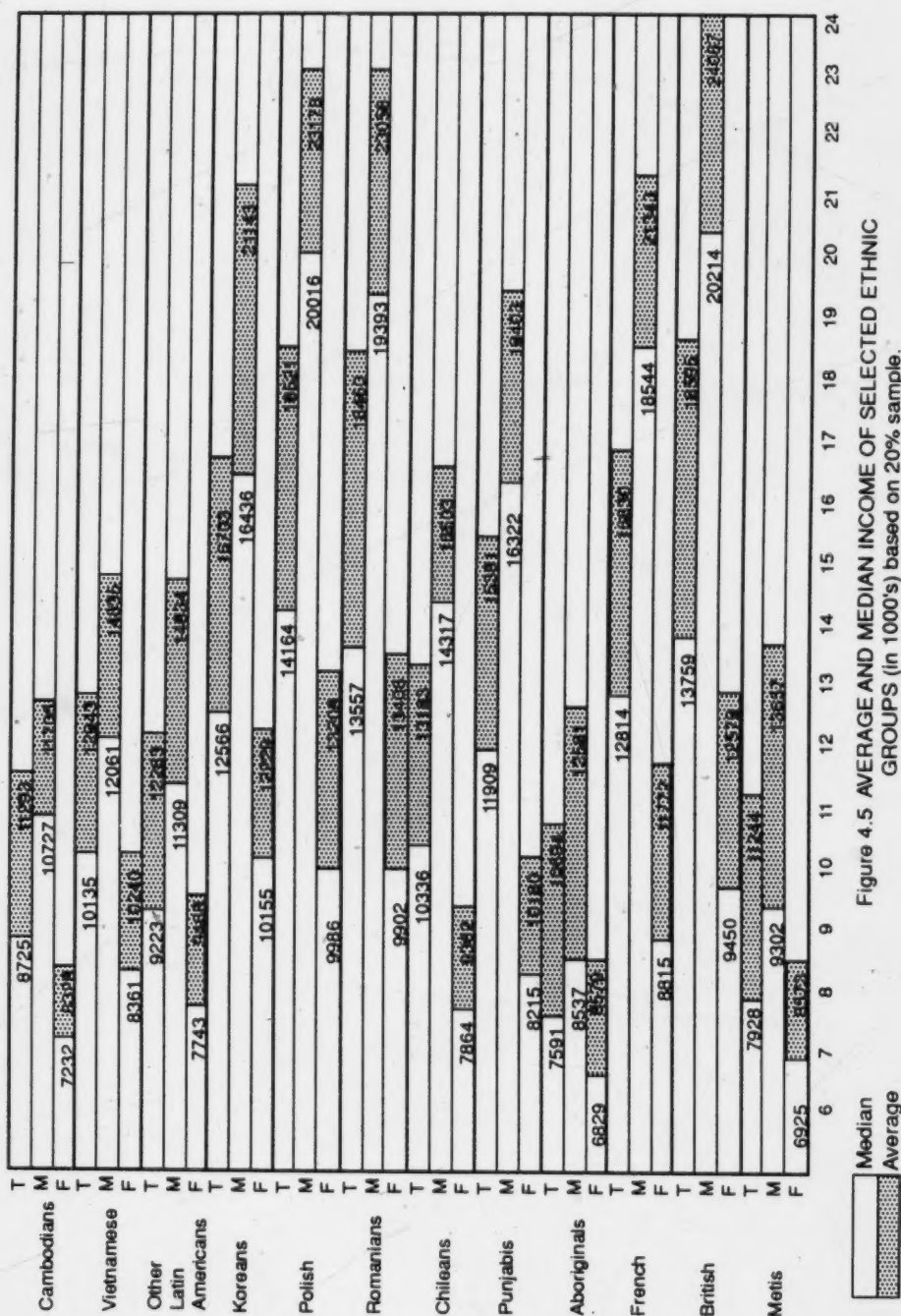


Figure 4.5 AVERAGE AND MEDIAN INCOME OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS (in 1000's) based on 20% sample.

Note: Data in this figure is from Census Canada 1986: Profile of ethnic groups. Statistics Canada, 1989. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services

What of those who leave ESL programmes, like the male counterparts of the women in part-time classes? What kind of opportunities are open to them with limited English and unrecognized skills? The overall situation of segregation is revealed, not only in terms of depressed income (Figure 4.5), but also, in many groups, in terms of increased unemployment (Figure 4.4). How does adult education facilitate increased integration among minorities? This subject concerns the articulation and cooperation between adult ESL and mainstream programmes.

Programme Outcomes and Expectations

A. ESL Programmes – Outcomes

There is considerable variation among ESL programmes as to anticipated outcomes and evaluation of students. Some of the programmes are community-based, intended mainly for social support and community development. Such programmes state that "no formal system [of testing] was applied" (A5) and that evaluation is accomplished "through the process of class work" (A2).

Other programmes include more formalized testing programmes. Programme A1's testing includes a grammar-based component, a test of oral skills (interview), and, for more advanced students, a diagnostic grammar test, a more complex interview and a standardized listening test. Programme A10 describes testing as "system developed curriculum related diagnostic test, " similar to A6's "regular assessment and report program based upon periodic standardized testing system developed for our curriculum." Testing is thus restricted to the isolated context of language development and does not generally include applied, content-related tasks.

When asked in Question 11, what completing a course in their programme meant to a student, some programmers were generally confident of their results:

ready for university if TOEFL is complete (A1);

basic ability to communicate with people, to get more job opportunities, to attend vocational courses (A2);

should be able to communicate and survive in an English-speaking environment (A4);

it is not enough to simply complete a course in our programme. Student and teacher satisfaction depends greatly on the progress and work accomplished by the student. This, we believe, is evidenced by the grades received (A8).

Others expressed more caution:

opportunity to take course at next level, or attend a course in another institution, job, confidence in English, making friends with Canadians (A7);

improvement, awareness of weaknesses, some idea of the next step (long and short term) (A9);

this depends upon the level which is being completed by the student. Thus it is different things to different students (A11).

Note that programmer A1 was the only respondent using a definition involving a test employed by mainstream institutions. Most comments are either general or unmeasurable, as in "survive in an English speaking environment" (A4). Thus, while programmers demonstrate awareness of the diversity of potential learning outcomes among students, there is limited engagement with the actualization of such learning goals among the same student group.

B. Expectations of Adult Education Programmes

When asked about how ESL learners should prepare for study in their programmes (Form B – Question 8), Adult Education programmers clearly defined the breadth of the gap that separates ESL from other kinds of adult education programmes.

don't know (B1);

1. take ESL training. 2. Work in an English setting for at least one year to enhance English skills. Failing employment opportunities, do volunteer work in an English setting (B4);

enrol in ESL course and force themselves to seek out situations where they will participate in English rather than using their first language (B7);

familiarize themselves with the occupational language to be used in the program, practise written and conversational English and improve English reading skills (B11).

Many of these responses suggest that language appropriate to the adult education context cannot be learned at school (an interesting idea!). B11's suggestion is a familiar one to me as I have worked with many independent learners who have received this same advice. It is usually received as a riddle by the determined learner who must somehow discover how he or she might acquire occupational language without access to the occupation or how such language might be studied without benefit of a library containing occupation — specific materials. How would such a learner know when they had encountered the "correct" occupation-specific language, and for which specific context? Yet, these are the kinds of demands currently being made of ESL learners applying for admission to mainstream programmes.

C. Bridging the Gap

An integrative orientation is already in evidence in responses from a minority of adult educators.

usually ESL is not the entire problem. The need is for basic adult education, academic upgrading and ESL (B3);

an ESL class, geared for job readiness (vocabulary specific) would be ideal (B8).

In both instances, respondents clearly express the need to regard language teaching within the broader context of content learning, to acknowledge language learning for immigrants as a dynamic of any other learning opportunity.

The fairly rigid distinction evidenced between adult ESL programmes and mainstream adult education reflects a system of educational grouping based on a notion of language "deficiency." Students are placed in ESL programmes, not because of

their educational background nor their particular learning goals. They are isolated solely on the basis of their status as non-English speakers until they approach native-like linguistic competence. Collins (1982) refers to this as the ideology of ability, the equation of language difference with personal incompetence and the inability to learn.

Numerous reports document the necessary role of education in fostering social integration of minorities (Hynes, 1987; *Equality Now*, 1984; Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988, Giles, 1987; Alberta Advanced Education, 1985; Rockhill, 1978; Blum, 1988). Yet little has been written in the field of adult education (as compared with the education of children) about integrative programming strategies for adult second language learners. This, I feel, relates to the use of integrated, developmental models of learning in basic education as compared with the more technical, content-specific bias present in adult education. The practical implication of the current approach, however, is expressed by settlement agency participant D3, who writes, regarding referrals of clients to adult education that "we advise them to take English 33 rather than ESL. ESL seems to stop people rather than encouraging them." What does this say about the integrative goals of ESL programmes and the availability of articulation within the system?

The notion of articulation between adult ESL and mainstream programmes is still in its infancy, but it does exist. Programmer A1 writes that "other continuing education programmes [within A1's institution] understand our system and there is a free exchange of students." Asked about how this system was established, however, A1 continued: "This took years to develop. Some people in adult ed. had difficulty relating to or accepting ESL students." In this case, then, articulation is limited to non-credit programmes within the same department. The system of testing is otherwise not intelligible to adult education programmes.

ESL Programmer A6 is also located within a larger department. As such, when students have developed a sufficient level of English skills and completed specific non-

credit language courses, they may proceed to credit courses within the same institution. To transfer to another school, however, students would have to be retested and requalify. A6's level system is not understood by other institutions.

2 Another approach has been developed by ESL Programmer A9's institution. As the academic programme has been receiving greater numbers of applications from second language speakers and since ESL programme A9 had many student requests for admission to academic programmes, a cooperative relationship was established between the two departments. Arriving at a plan required a series of meetings to explore and mutually adjust goals. This process resulted in the creation of a preparation course acceptable to both programmes. While still non-credit, the programme does facilitate access by many students who were previously frustrated. Programmer A9 told me that a relatively limited follow-up study of the "bridge" programme showed that these students tended to go further in the system than students without preparation.

Programmer A9's students must still qualify if they plan to enter any other programmes or institutions. In all three cases discussed, then, while articulation is available, it is actually quite limited in its application, even within institutions. ESL testing and competence levels are not standard across programmes; they are not really mutually intelligible let alone meaningful to other adult education programmers. While this is not an issue for students who do not plan on further education, it is an issue for those who do.

In addition, people's plans change. A relative newcomer may go into the workforce after a short time studying English, with the intent of taking additional education at a later date; an occupational injury may preclude job retraining; divorce, family death or other unforeseen change may force an immigrant to change his or her personal plans. A static, isolated language teaching approach to immigrant education does not respond to these dynamic changes within the individual or to the realities of technological and social change within the community.

Part II — Factors Affecting the Economic and Social Participation of Immigrants

If all immigrants had similar backgrounds, adapted in the same way and experienced the same access to employment and educational opportunities, we would expect to find consistency across all groups in measurable outcomes, such as rates of unemployment and earnings. Any inconsistencies revealed between groups, conversely, must reflect differences relating either to characteristics of the group, to treatment by society or to some combination of characteristics and treatment. As psychologist Howard Erlich (1973, p. 171) points out:

In its social effects, equality of access has resulted in the retention of prevailing inequalities. In this regard, equality has become a political mechanism for maintaining stability and an ideological justification for preserving the social order.

Group-based inconsistencies reveal the downside of the equality of access notion.

Census data for 1986 (Statistics Canada, 1989) provides detailed information concerning particular aspects of minority-group participation. Features which may pertain include: —

1. Immigration patterns,
2. Rates of unemployment,
3. Income, and
4. Educational background.

It will be important to consider these features as they interact, as well. For example, do all more recently-arrived groups have higher rates of unemployment? Is income generally relative to education? In this way, we can understand how societal and group features interact. Findings from the survey will also be introduced to show how education serves to meliorate or preserve observed inconsistencies.

Immigration Patterns

Figure 4.2 illustrates the relative numbers and arrival patterns of immigrant groups profiled in this study. With the exception of the Polish, who have had quite high levels of immigration since the end of World War 2, all groups are relative newcomers. From a settlement point of view, we might anticipate that more recent Polish arrivals would receive support from their established cultural community while larger numbers of Vietnamese newcomers might have a more difficult adaptation experience with few countrymen preceding them.

Other groups really did not arrive in large numbers until the 1960s, with a large Korean influx in the period 1967-1977. We see in this period, as well, significant increases in immigration from Chile, Romania, the Punjab, and Other Latin America (including Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Colombia and Bolivia). Immigration of Cambodians really did not increase until the late 1970s.

Without knowing too much about any of these groups, it might be reasonable to think that as their members become established, most will get jobs, learn English and adjust to Canadian life. In fact, in interviewing informant A, a Chilean woman, for this study (see Appendix I), we discussed this very point. A suggested that any people who did not get jobs must be lazy. When I remarked that unemployment levels were, in fact, significantly higher among Chileans than those of French or British backgrounds and asked if she felt Chileans were lazier than those groups, she was at a loss to understand how this could be.

This is a difficulty in dealing with immigrants one by one. When one person is rejected from schooling or employment, we can attribute reasons to the characteristics of the individual. Perhaps her English was not good enough, she had no Canadian experience, her training was not directly relevant to the job. When we see the collective effect and the size of the group, however, we must begin to admit that the system itself has some obligation to adapt to the needs and abilities of these new citizens.

Rates of Unemployment

Though they do not tell us about kinds of employment history or goals, rates of unemployment are useful in profiling the relative success or lack of success experienced by various communities in the employment sector. This may be related to the arrival pattern as discussed earlier, as well as to other factors. "Unemployed", as applied to census data, is defined by Statistics Canada (1989, p. xxxii) as referring to "persons who, during the week prior to enumeration:

- a) were without work, had actively looked for work in the past four weeks and were available for work; or
- b) had been on lay-off and expected to return to their job; or
- c) had definite arrangements to start a new job in four weeks or less."

Among 15 -24 year olds (see Figure 4.3), we see a generally higher rate of unemployment than national averages for the whole population. Among particular minorities, however, we can see marked differences among groups. Cambodians, Vietnamese, Other Latin Americans, Chileans, Romanians and Punjabi women experience levels of twenty per cent or higher. Some of this could be attributable to arrival patterns as these same groups have large numbers of relative newcomers.

In communities such as the Vietnamese and Chileans, however, we see disproportionately high rates of youth unemployment despite their communities' somewhat settled status. This inconsistency is more difficult to explain in terms of settlement and suggests more complex factors may be at work. It is no more serious, however, than factors affecting the dramatic employment levels of forty per cent and higher experienced among aboriginal and Metis youth.

In the 25 and over age group (Figure 4.4), unemployment levels are generally moderated. Korean, Polish and Romanian rates drop below ten per cent, resembling those of French and British groups. Rates among other groups continue to remain higher, with Cambodians generally experiencing rates of over 25 per cent, and

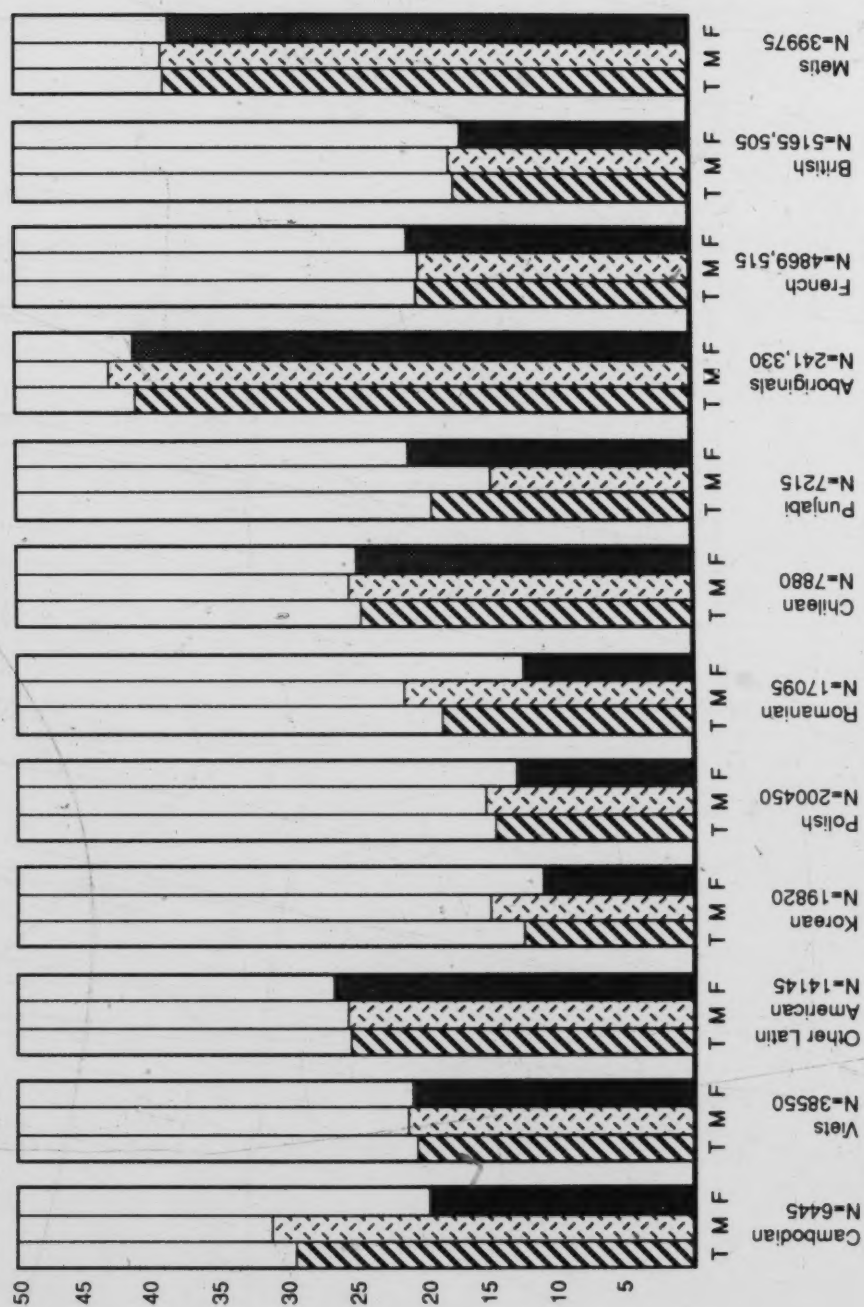


Figure 4.3 UNEMPLOYMENT RATES - SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS (15-24Yrs.)

Note: Data in this figure is from Census Canada 1986: Profile of ethnic groups.
Statistics Canada, 1989. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services

Cambodian women over 30 per cent. Unemployment rates among Aborigines and Metis are comparable to those among the Cambodians with the interesting contrast that Aboriginal and Metis women experience lower rates of unemployment than their groups' men.

Minority women, as a group, experience higher rates of unemployment than their male counterparts, but the difference is especially significant in the case of Cambodian, Chilean, Other Latin American and Punjabi women. What factors contribute to this difference? Again, this inconsistency is difficult to explain in terms of adaptation or groupness only.

Other anomalies present themselves. Why is it that Koreans, who arrived at about the same time as the Chileans, show such a different profile in unemployment? Are there factors among Cambodians which make them so different from the Vietnamese? Why do Latin Americans generally experience high rates of unemployment?

Clearly, we must begin to consider the effects of culture, education and human experience as they pertain to adaptation. The diversity among immigrants is as great among this group as it is among the native-born. Can we expect language programming and settlement counselling alone, however, to bridge these gaps?

Income

Logically, those with lower rates of unemployment should have higher earning power and Statistics Canada's (1989) information bears this out (Figure 4.5). Among groups with low unemployment, income is comparable with French and British groups. Koreans follow the same pattern as those groups though their collective earnings, curiously, are significantly lower. As well, there is considerable income disparity within the Korean, Polish, Punjabi and Romanian communities, with more than a \$4000 difference between the median and average incomes of each group. This broad range may reflect some difference between established and more recent immigrants.

Other groups, however, show a markedly different pattern. Although there is less disparity between median and average incomes in the Cambodian, Vietnamese, Chilean and Other Latin American groups, overall earnings are dramatically lower than those of the French and English groups. Some difference, again, could be attributable to the settlement process or perhaps to educational background, but again there is the problem of between group consistency: the Koreans arrived at about the same time as the Chileans and the Punjabis, yet there is real variation in income among those groups.

A particularly striking feature is the consistency of the relationship of men's and women's earnings across all groups, including French and British, as women generally continue to earn far less than men. Statistics Canada (1989, p. viii) recognizes single response Aboriginal women as the poorest group in Canada. Other groups of women — the Metis, Cambodians, Other Latin Americans, Chileans — are not far behind.

How "successful" is each of these minority groups? If economic participation is considered a measure of success, then there are great differences among these communities in terms of that success. More recent newcomers are readily identifiable as somewhat disadvantaged, but certain, more established communities like the Chileans and Vietnamese have not achieved the same kind of success as other groups which arrived at about the same time.

The Question of Education

As I began the design of this study, I talked to a number of people to get different perspectives on the issue of immigrants in adult education. In personal communication with sociologist and demographer Professor K. Krotki of the University of Alberta, I was told that education is not really an issue for immigrants since, as a group, they tend to be better educated than Canadians. This comment puzzled me since, as a teacher who has worked with immigrants extensively, I had encountered many people, with

backgrounds across the educational spectrum, who were looking for chances to retrain, upgrade, requalify, develop literacy, develop citizenship skills, and so on. I began to think about how a demographer's view of immigrants might differ from my own.

Figures supplied by the Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (CTFMH) (1988, p. 31) show that "during the past decade, a third or more of all migrants to this country have been people with post-secondary educations." There is indeed an increase in post secondary credentials over that time.

Such statistics, however, fail to explore the educational geography of the total immigrant population. If we were asked to develop any curriculum for all of Canada b, looking, for example, only at Toronto, there would be a vast hue and cry from all corners of the country. "How dare you infer that Stettler or Goose Bay is just like Toronto!" I think that the perspective of demographers regarding education, however, has been somewhat like that of the curriculum developer. You cannot look at the attributes of part of a group, in this case the educated, and generalize to the whole. In the case of the highly educated, as well, it is unfair to assume that foreign-earned skills and training are totally transferrable.

As a teacher, however, I must also admit to the limitations of the classroom perspective. I could not have begun this study without information provided by demographers. Individual teachers have the opportunity to develop a very dynamic impression of a small number of immigrants over a period of time. No matter how insightful they are, if such a teacher were to generalize about the experience of all immigrants based on the stories told by her students, we would have to challenge her assumptions, based on the narrowness of her frame of reference.

It is for just such reasons that more interdisciplinary studies of complex socio-cultural — educational problems like immigrant adaptation must be conducted. Demographers will never know what teachers know, and you can be sure that very few

English teachers are closet demographers! In spite of our best intentions, our respective professional lenses on reality can render our separate views somewhat myopic.

We create problems if we view all immigrants and refugees, based on their foreign origins, as sharing characteristics similar enough that all their needs can be addressed by only a few types of programmes. Immigrants are not a commodity with which to fill job slots. They are workers, parents, neighbours, friends, and future citizens. As such, the only way that we can understand their educational, employment or social needs is to look at more dynamic aspects of their "groupness." Education is such a dynamic, and it may be approached in several ways.

1. The Top-Down Approach

The top-down approach is characterized by a distinct focus on the most highly educated portion of immigrant arrivals. This is reflected in government documents such as the MacDonald Royal Commission Report on Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada (1985, p. 663) with comments like: "Canadians gain when persons with valuable training and education immigrate to Canada," and in statements by demographic researchers like Seward (1986, p. 19), who writes: "It would seem important to select immigrants who are relatively young, well-educated and skilled." While such persons are no doubt attractive as immigrants, their training cannot be assumed to match perfectly with Canadian needs, nor does it in any way erase the educational needs of other newcomers.

Figure 4.6 provides insight into the complexities of the education issue. Several of the minority groups profiled do indeed have higher proportions of members with post-secondary education than do either the French or British groups. Koreans, for example, have the highest proportion of all but, if you will recall that group's income level, they were found to be less successful than Polish, Romanian, French or British groups. Korean unemployment is also the lowest of all groups surveyed.

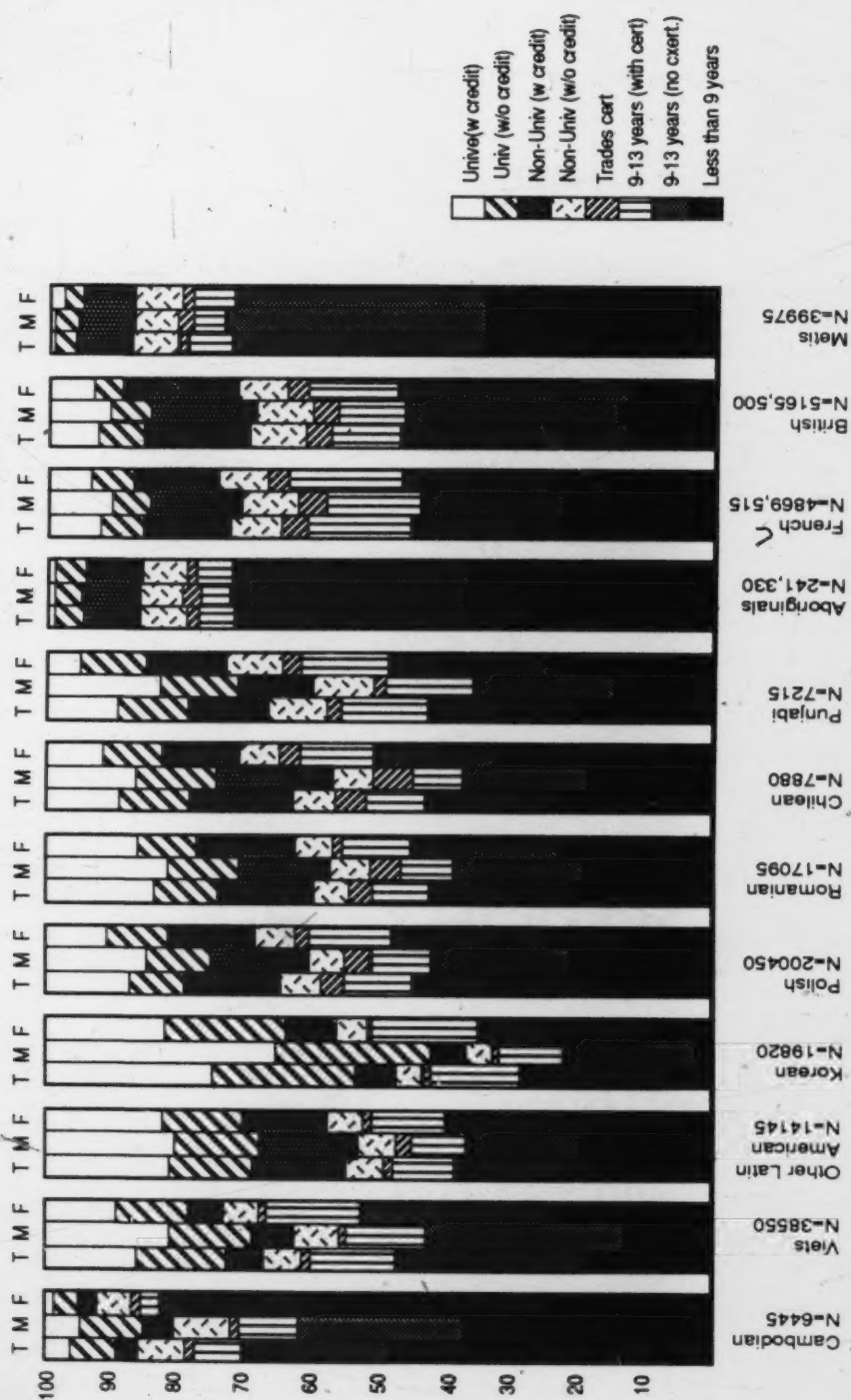


Figure 4.6 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND - SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS (ADULTS)

Note: Data in this figure is from Census Canada 1986: Profile of ethnic groups.
Statistics Canada, 1989. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services

The Chilean and Other Latin American groups have about fifty per cent educated beyond the basic level. This compares favourably with the Polish, Punjabi, French and British groups, even though Chileans and Other Latin Americans have significantly lower earnings and higher unemployment than any of these groups.

Both Vietnamese and Punjabi groups have about forty per cent post secondary educated members, yet their levels of income and their unemployment rates are less favourable than those with comparable education, the Polish and the French. This could be attributed to recency of arrival, but such an argument is countered by the experience of the Koreans, who, in spite of high levels of education and low rates of unemployment still achieve lower rates of earnings than established groups.

Clearly, there are more dynamic forces in operation during settlement than the cause and effect of skill and opportunity. If Canadians gain when skilled people become immigrants, by what mechanisms are those skills translated and justified within the Canadian context? Also, do skills from all countries translate in the same way? It would seem not from examining the disparities in evidence between groups. Skills with western European origins seem to be much more easily translated than those from Asian or Latin American sources.

2. The Bottom-Up Approach

An alternative way of viewing the educational dynamics of immigrant adaptation is to look at levels of basic education among the various groups. This approach is, I have found, somewhat more successful than the top-down approach since it can provide a broader understanding of immigrant needs within the framework of the adult basic education needs of the larger population.

The Southam Literacy Report (1987, p. 22) documented that "large scale immigration accounts for about one million of Canada's 4.5 adult functional illiterates." Curiously, however, while literacy campaigns have been mounted

nationally to address the needs of native born English and French speakers, little coordinated effort has been made to target the special literacy needs of immigrants (see Part I of this chapter for a discussion of this question in the context of ESL teaching).

Growing numbers of documents describe the link between literacy and employment now and in the future (Kozol, 1985; Southam News, 1987; Business Task Force on Literacy, 1988; Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 1988), yet they do not address the question of the population range which must be considered; there is an assumption of homogeneity.

Specific groups profiled show more definite needs for literacy support than others, but Cambodians, by far, show the greatest need. Because of long periods of war in their native land, almost fifty per cent of Cambodians have had less than nine years of basic education, 63 per cent among women. What does this mean? It means that Cambodians, as a group, will have long range adjustment problems relating to accessing all types of health, educational, social and community services for themselves and their children. Employment opportunities will be limited to a narrow range of low level jobs. As a group, they may adjust, but many of them will be segregated because of insurmountable language and cultural differences.

Chileans, Other Latin Americans and Punjabis have more than twenty per cent membership with nine years or less of basic education, rates which are generally higher among women. For these groups, again, employment opportunities, income and community participation will be limited because of literacy.

Among higher income Polish and French groups, however, literacy is also a concern, with rates of over twenty per cent among those with nine years or less of education. It does not, however, translate into the same kind of economic disadvantage encountered by other groups, because of the shared western European cultural base. Thus culture may be seen as a major factor in adaptation and access generally, mitigating against a single system approach to education.

3. *Toward a More Holistic View*

There are documentable needs for access to education across the population of newcomers to Canada. Adult education is developing rapidly to address the diverse learning needs of Canadians of all ages, young adults to seniors, in rural and urban areas. What we must recognize, as adult educators, is that an equivalent, if not greater, diversity may be found among adult newcomers as is found among the native-born.

From an educational standpoint, neither the top-down nor the bottom-up approach to analysis of immigrant needs can be entirely satisfactory. A focus on the amassed human capital represented by immigrants may prevent us from understanding the difficulties associated with translating those skills into the Canadian context. The Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (1988, p. 31) supports this view, stating that "many cannot or do not find employment at a level for which their education has equipped them." Conversely, an exclusive focus on literacy needs distracts from the wealth of skills which immigrants can share.

At the outset of this chapter, I described the educational context as multicultural because of the very nature of our society. Part I, though, demonstrated that this context is not without tension as it relates to the goals of programmes and the needs of groups within the society. Part II has illustrated how the tension between group and society may be exacerbated by features such as ethnicity, gender and educational background. As you shall see in Part III, these tensions can be seen to relate to factors within the groups themselves and to features of our society. The question remains, however: have we no strategies to resolve this dilemma? For a society which is becoming increasingly multicultural, this is an important question. This societal perspective, too, will be presented as Chapter 5 of this study.

Part III — Factors Affecting the Educational Participation of Immigrants

Analysis of this section was based on comparison of responses to the following questions:

- Form A.13 — What barriers, if any, do you perceive regarding immigrant participation in adult education programmes in Edmonton?
- Form A.22 — Other comments?
- Form B.13 — What problems, if any, does your school perceive in the ESL preparation of immigrant applicants for study in your programmes?
- Form B.18 — Other issues?
- Form C.15 — Outstanding educational needs you have observed.
- Form D.13 — What barriers, if any, do you perceive regarding immigrant participation in adult education programmes in Edmonton?

In fact, these questions generated greater response across all groups than any others. Although comments indicated a great degree of consensus concerning the specific issues to be addressed, perspectives of different groups often differed dramatically, sometimes diametrically. This outcome relates to an issue discussed in Part I of this chapter, that is, differences in goals between immigrant-specific and mainstream programmes. When the goals of some programmes — ESL programmes and settlement agencies — relate to a specific population, and the goals of others — mainstream adult education programmes — concern general programming outcomes, we can anticipate divergent perspectives relating to the perception of and responsibility for special group needs. Documentation of these tensions is perhaps one of the most powerful products of this study.

A. Awareness

Though participants all share some of the same clients or students, there is great disparity in how the client group is perceived and, indeed, how respective participant groups are perceived (or not perceived) by students or clients. Responses focussed on the

issue of *awareness* as it affects three groups: learners themselves; adult educators and ESL programmers; and funders.

1. Learners

Settlement Agency participants commented most frequently about lack of awareness of the adult education and the process of qualification among clients. Participant D1 observed that some newcomers expect their skills to be completely transferrable, expect adjustment to be straightforward, and quickly become discouraged when they encounter challenges. Expectations are more problematic among highly skilled workers, especially if they are accustomed to wealth or prestige in their native country.

Awareness of the workings of the adult education system is also an issue. Native-born Canadians are educated through many years of public schooling to deal with form filling, educational planning and bureaucratic communication. Imagine the variety of bureaucratic knowledge among new arrivals, some of whom are veterans of even more cumbersome systems, others who have had very little relevant experience. Then, examine the structure of bureaucracies, which itself is culturally particular, relating to the values and goals of each society. Finally, imagine entering a new society and trying to understand the bureaucratic system of another culture through a new language! Such awareness cannot be assumed.

Participant D5 indicated that newcomer awareness is also affected by a lack of interest in minorities on the part of mainstream institutions. "Few programmes are tailored to reflect multicultural interest and understanding." The apparent lack of interest among minorities is exacerbated by the fact that programmes which may be of interest are seldom "advertised in the ethnocultural community papers and almost never in other languages." Hynes (1987), in her study for George Brown College in Toronto, received many similar comments regarding the role of mainstream

institutions in the increasing of community awareness and access. She concluded that unless mainstream agencies and institutions attempt to reach out to students from ethnic minorities, lack of awareness will continue as a barrier to their participation.

2. *Adult Educators and ESL Programmers*

The question asked of Adult Education programmers focussed on their perception of linguistic preparedness among immigrant learners or applicants. Most respondents, did, in fact, report that language was a problem.

- B3 - Some weakness in English.
- B4 - Fluency levels, especially of students with low educational levels in their own country, are poor.
- B7 - Many ... remain unable to meet the score specified as the minimum acceptable standard on the TOEFL exam.
- B8 - They should be encouraged to use English more than their mother tongue, or else to continue English training.
- B11 - Rankings are not sufficient. i.e. Individuals pass and are told they have sufficient English skills, or pass highest course so cannot continue and yet, in fact, do not have sufficient English for labour market training.

Yet, when asked in Question 7, where they refer applicants with a mother tongue other than English who need language upgrading, the most frequently given response among these same participants was "ESL courses." Awareness among this group relates to the level of engagement with the language issue. Most respondents see the responsibility for language preparation wholly resting upon the yet-to-be-accepted applicant. When the applicant is able to behave in much the same way as others, they can be accepted. Thus, ESL is perceived by respondents as compensatory and remedial, not integrative or developmental. This system is characteristically egalitarian: once immigrants get enough English, they will have the same chance as anyone else.

Compare this perspective with that of many ESL programmers:

- A1 - There is a lack of awareness of immigrants and immigrant needs and a lack of willingness to adjust programmes to their needs.

- A2 – At the advanced level, I think participation is hindered by the inappropriateness of the TOEFL test.
- A5 – I would like to see more emphasis toward helping newcomers develop the English skills necessary for participation not only in academic/vocational education, but also for participation in our communities.
- A7 – Not enough language-based job training programmes.
- A9 – Unrealistic demands by receiving institutions for levels of language. Regular institutions for skills training demand higher than reasonable skill in reading, writing, speaking.

The difference in programme orientation is clear from this comparison. While comments from adult educators relate to the relative unpreparedness of newcomers for programmes, ESL programmers express the need for increased acceptance of this group of learners by adult educators.

Interaction between these two groups of participants – Adult educators and ESL programmers – is minimal despite the volley of views. Adult educators clearly see the responsibility for preparation in the court of the ESL programmers while ESL programmers counter that they are doing as much as possible to prepare students for an integrated context, but with limited success in view of adult education requirements.

Another aspect of awareness, then, relates to the fact that, while both groups have identified the problem from their perspective, neither is able to take responsibility for developing alternatives. Few in either group express empathy for the other's perspective or relate their programming to that of the other group. They express a stalemate which really has little impact on either of them: there is still a steady stream of students into mainstream programmes and an equally strong enrollment among ESL programmes. Who is affected? It is individual learners who become caught in the middle; a group for which there are no statistics, no alternatives.

3. Funders

Examining overall goals of funding in the context of this study is useful. Four funders participated, each representing a particular philosophy and goal. Participant

C1's goal of "access to employment, other training or successful accommodation to Alberta" acknowledges a diversity of need within the community but has not, according to programmers, translated this awareness into a broad variety of programming responses in the community. Funding is only for full-time language study in recommended programmes. Options for alternatives are thus limited.

Funder C2 provides "coordinated, comprehensive, meaningful further education courses to meet the individual learning needs of adults in the community." Regarding immigrants specifically, such part-time programming is intended to "orient immigrant adults to life in Canada." There is a vast difference, however, between orientation for newcomers and meeting individual learning needs, and C2's policy does not clarify the discrepancy of these two positions.

When the degree of awareness of immigrant learning needs indicated by such statements is compared with participant comments regarding funding, the result suggests limited engagement with actual ESL programme delivery or its outcomes.

- A3 – There are insufficient programmes available, particularly evening classes and Literacy classes.
- A5 – Not enough funding for community-based and/or settlement agency programs (as an alternative to the larger institutions).
- A6 – Discrimination between native-born and foreign-born illiterates prevents many immigrants from getting sufficient time in school to establish an English base.

Engagement, again, relates to coordination of programming, discussed in Part I of this chapter as a key element of any integrated response to immigrant learning needs.

Funder C3's department supports ESL learning for clients who are unemployed or underemployed. Emphasis is placed on preliminary "mastery" of English before other training is offered. "After English capability is adequate, more general funding is available for skill training or training wage subsidy (if necessary)." This is the philosophy of compensatory education.

Funders, that is governments, are developing an awareness that a range of alternatives for language education (ESL) is necessary. Both C1 and C3 are major supporters of immigrant student participation in Fairview College's Skill Training for New Canadians Programme. As well, Programme C4, a relatively new federal programme, is designed to respond to needs for settlement language training among newcomers not destined for the workforce (seniors, homemakers, etc.).

Awareness — An Issue

The level of community awareness of immigrant educational needs is clouded by the language/competence question discussed in Chapter 2 and is complicated by an absence of government policy encouraging adult immigrant participation through education. Provision is made for language classes on both full- and part-time bases, yet the range of needs expressed includes much more than linguistic and cultural elements. Providing English alone cannot address some of the fundamental structural difficulties which are evolving in Canadian society.

B. Special Learning Needs of Immigrants

The need for response to a variety of special educational needs among immigrants was expressed by participants from all groups. These include:

1. The Particular Needs of Women

Women, across all ethnicities, including established groups like the British and French, are consistently economically disadvantaged as compared with men. Comments regarding immigrant women tend to focus on the influence of cultural differences on the process of adaptation and the potential for conflict as an outcome of change.

A6 — In some cultures, women are not considered needing education. Although education for women may be downplayed within some communities, complete isolation in a new country is not a pleasant prospect. The Canadian Task

Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees (CTFMH) (1988, p. 76) recognizes the significance of this cultural difference and supports the idea of "community development initiatives which help recreate culturally familiar and approved social support networks." While such networks may not fit within the traditional framework for adult education, it can be seen that development of initiatives leading to independence among various adult groups (Canadian Natives, the mentally and physically disabled, older learners) is already a strong component of many Community Education programmes.

A7 – Cambodian women – family role/poor health/low literacy.

Here, a combination of factors, including culture, result in extreme isolation. As identified in Part II of this chapter, Cambodian women, among all other groups profiled, have had least access to basic education. Literacy is, therefore, a key consideration, requiring a somewhat different response to that developed in work with native English speakers. Any appropriate response must consider the fundamental literacy perspective of the individual, including the native language, before English literacy can be broached. To link literacy skills with employment opportunities, literacy education for this and other groups might be considered within the context of special employment training initiatives (Hynes, 1987, p. 122).

A7 – Latin American women watch TV and see how Canadian women live. They want to adapt and work and this creates problems with the men.

The comment illustrates how the dynamics of adaptation can affect family relationships and challenge traditional role distinctions. The CTFMH Report (1987) relates this tension to the potential for increases in family violence (p. 76) and recommends programmes to familiarize all newcomers with the rights and roles of women in Canada.

Education regarding human rights addresses one aspect of the problem, but it does not respond to the underlying reasons why Latin American men experience such frustration. A7 continues:

Latin American men have low motivation to study English. They also suffer from high unemployment, but I am not sure what this means.

This study has demonstrated the consistency of unemployment problems across Latin American groups, including the relatively well established Chilean community. Without further research, conclusions are impossible to draw. The evidence, however, does indicate strong directions.

The challenge of the traditional role as breadwinner, low motivation to adapt to learning a new language and to reduced status in employment may result in low self esteem accompanying loss of traditional social status within the group. Informant R. (Appendix 2) points to the effect of differing attitudes toward competition in various societies and the impact of a more competitive society on a less competitively-oriented individual. He sees this difference affecting the participation of such groups in the Canadian mainstream.

Direct responses to such needs are required to encourage increased participation. These could take the form of intensive and proactive counselling to support educational and employment participation. As well, more employment-based language training opportunities for such newcomers would provide an incentive to developing self-reliance.

A3 – Women at home need to learn about the availability of subsidized community daycare so they can participate in educational programmes.

The issue of accessible child care is reiterated throughout a range of reports (Giles, 1987; Hynes, 1987; CTFMH, 1988; Mickelson, 1978; TESL Canada, 1981), and it continues to affect options for established Canadian as well as more recently arrived women.

2. *Diversity of Language Programming Needs*

Participants identified a variety of types of programming needs relating to a range of low to high educational backgrounds among learners.

- A7 – Not enough language-based job training programs.
- B4 – More on-work-site English training should be addressed.
- D4 – More vocational training needed.
- A2 – Learners need language which will help them reintegrate into their occupational area.
- B13 – Seniors ... need to develop networks, identify problems and find sources of help. They need English to accomplish these goals.
- B4 – There is a large group of students whose literacy/education level in their own language is poor. Therefore their learning styles tend to be limited.
- D2 – Education [should be] more closely linked with employment.
- A7 – We found that learners in Job Reentry improved their English dramatically because their learning was tied to personal goals.

Such comments reveal the extensive range of backgrounds and needs within the immigrant population, and illustrating the need to recognize competence within diversity. Diversity of programming must relate to the acknowledgement of this variability and to the distinguishing of personal and linguistic competence for the purposes of grouping. Currently, an ESL class could include individuals from many countries, educational and social backgrounds, based only on that group's shared feature of English language level. Is such a grouping, however, any more defensible than any other type, such as background knowledge or goal of study? Supporting grouping with consideration for content, sociolinguist Courtney Cazden (1977, p. 42) writes:

We must always remember that language is learned, not because we want to talk or read or write about language, but because we want to talk or read and write about the world.

Language is, of course, a tool, but it is difficult to learn to use tools without something to practice on.

Participant observations reflect the incongruities arising from overemphasis on second language competence as compared with other skills.

- A2 - Some clients took a janitorial course for 6 weeks and got jobs right away. Those who take ESL courses seldom get jobs or, if they do, get jobs better than they had before. A dishwasher with English is still a dishwasher.
- B4 - Fluency levels, especially of students with low educational levels in their own country, are poor.
- D7 - Mainstream agencies, including government departments dealing with our clients, need clearer understanding of cultural and educational backgrounds of clients. They tend to apply the "discount" factor and only look at the bottom line.

Recognition of competence, though difficult in cross-cultural contexts, is nonetheless central to the social participation of immigrants and to building positive community awareness supportive of integration.

3. Transitional Language Programmes

The need for some sort of transitional programming within the framework of other types of adult education is indicated from a number of perspectives. There are the contrasting views of ESL programmers and adult educators, as presented in Part I of this chapter, indicating the need for a coordinated response to a range of language needs, enabling increased minority participation in mainstream programmes; the acknowledgment of funders like C3 that "in some cases [there is] more and more need for advanced ESL," and the observations of settlement agencies like D3 that "most formal institutional ESL programmes do not ever succeed in providing Grade 9 competency in their ESL students."

A continuing emphasis on isolated language training cannot address these needs. Programme initiatives from within mainstream adult education are required to facilitate further participation.

4. *Requalification*

The problem of requalification of professionals and tradespeople was mentioned by participants from all groups. Government, of course, must be involved in any such process, but in most occupational fields education also has a major part to play in qualification. This is recognized in the recent CTFMH Report (1988, p. 33) :

Before immigrants can qualify to practise their trade or profession, they must have access to training programs. Criteria for admission to these programs can be as restrictive as those of the trades and professions themselves. CEIC, in cooperation with the provincial ministries of education and higher education, should work closely with training institutions to encourage more flexible and broader criteria for admission to training programs.

As the issue of requalification involves so many groups, it is one of the more difficult areas in which to make headway. Like the issue of ESL and mainstream education, it is often simpler to place the onus for change completely on the newcomers, de-emphasizing the role of the system in adapting to the requirements of a changing society. Observations from study participants include the following:

- A2 – What I believe is to promote more professional training which is linked with their previous education.
- B7 – Immigrants who have professional training in their homelands have expressed frustration regarding barriers to their practice of some of these professions in Canada.
- B13 – Accreditation of past skills.
- C3 – Some problems for professionals to qualify for professions here, i.e. medicine, engineering.
- D4 – Home country education or credentials not accepted in Canada.
- D7 – Lack of a clear (articulated) system for recognition of foreign credentials/qualifications.

What strategies could be developed to address these concerns?

Toward a Framework for Integration

The larger issue of immigrant participation in adult education and the difficulties of matching skills developed in one's home country with Canadian requirements and expectations illustrates the lead role which is required of adult education programmes as we face an increasingly diverse society. This chapter has presented three perspectives on immigrant participation – the programme level, the societal level, the level of the individual. Each has revealed the need for broader societal involvement, but the question remains ... by whom? Is it that immigrants need to become more involved in mainstream activities, including education or is it that mainstream institutions need to become more aware about and involved in minority affairs?

Perhaps rather than looking at immigrant participation in adult education, we need to adjust our perspective a little to consider the implications of adult education in a multicultural society. The tensions expressed both by mainstream and minority interests suggest a basic frustration in justifying the needs of special groups with the goals of the system. In Chapter 5, then, I will present the flipside of this topic and will contextualize the issue of immigrant participation in adult education within a social philosophy of multiculturalism.

CHAPTER 5 — SOCIETY, SCHOOLING AND CITIZENS — ANALYSIS OF THE THREE DATA FIELDS

Analysis proceeds from three separate fields, each providing a particular perspective on the topic: Immigrant participation in the adult education community of Edmonton. To render a coherent analysis, however, requires the location of commonalities uniting the entire range of text and selection of a compatible analytic perspective.

Methods of analysis are not value free. Each inheres certain assumptions about the subject and relationships involving the subject. A sociological analysis could proceed from a several perspectives, and each would be limited in the same way that a particular political perspective limits the directions taken by the society itself. Schermerhorn (1970) contrasts the use of a functional perspective (conservative) and a power-conflict perspective (radical) in addressing topics concerning ethnic groups within a society.

The functional perspective considers society as a whole and posits the individual in subordination to "prevailing culture patterns" and "expectations of conformity" (Parsons and Shils, 1965: p. 23). Emphasis is thus sharing the goals of the larger society by the individuals within it. In the case of a multicultural society, however, it is difficult to determine the goals of the larger society without a perception of the particular goals of cultural communities within it. Unanimous subscription to "mainstream" goals cannot be assumed. Functionalist analysis, because of its global emphasis, therefore, is inappropriate for analysis of issues of constituent groups since all are subsumed to broader social needs and goals.

With respect to participation of minorities, such a focus, whether it be economic, social or political, can only assume *assimilation* (fitting into the system) of minorities. There is a tension, therefore, between proclaimed national aspirations, such as

Canada's, of cultural *integration* and economic and social policies founded in functionalism.

To treat differences within a society requires consideration of power relations among various groups, tracing group differences in social, cultural or economic outcomes to identifiable features of gender, race, social class (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Schermerhorn, 1970; Lenski, 1966). The advantage of the power-conflict approach is its illumination of the situation of the individual with relation to the larger society.

In its pure form, however, the power-conflict approach is oppositional. As well, like the functionalist perspective in its pure form, it cannot render any more sensible definition of the parts in relation to the society as a whole. The two views, functionalism and power-conflict theory, are rather like a bespectacled old married couple, one short-sighted, the other short-armed, marching along in vigorous disagreement (the basis of their relationship!) concerning their respective perceptions of the same elephant. By listening to the views of each, we can expand our own perceptions and get an integrated sense of the observed beast's macro and micro features.

Consider the more moderate alternative of pluralist analysis. A pluralist analysis would acknowledge the necessity for a plurality of social institutions in response to diverse needs in a diverse society (Jarvis, 1985). The question to ask then is "how many needs and how diverse a society?" This approach is less likely to provide a critical analysis of relations between macro and micro features of the topic than to legitimize the proliferation of pluralism, purporting responsiveness both to the goals of the larger society as well as to the particular groups within it. The result is dispersal of the inherent dialectic tension of the problem, not change. Pluralism underlies historic approaches to multiculturalism which encourage ethnic song and dance, but ultimately promote assimilation by diverting our attention from the ethic of cultural conformity in operation at the structural level.

Social forces are at work within all cultural groups and throughout our society, however, and these are best addressed by exploiting the dialectic between functionalism and power-conflict theory. This tension most closely matches that of cultural integration — non- assimilative, non-separatist — an ideal in search of a method.

A. The Context of ESL Education/Adult Education

Comparison of programme goals for both adult education and ESL programmes illustrates how pluralism has worked to reduce the tension created by a more diverse population. Adult education programmes surveyed tended to define themselves in terms of *goals*, using testing and qualification to ensure relative homogeneity among learners. Goals for these "mainstream" programmes are functional, oriented toward society as a whole. For immigrants, second language speakers, to participate, they must adapt completely to the system. There is no reciprocal adaptation of the system to their needs. Thus, the orientation of programmes is assimilationist, based on the assumption that minority aspirations are implicit in those of the society as a whole.

ESL programmes, defined by their clientele, are a pluralist response to non-mainstream needs. Language needs are special, superseding other social, vocational or educational aims of the individual. ESL education is compensatory, aimed at providing skills so that learners may, if and when ready, take part in the mainstream (Fantini, 1972). Bowles and Gintis (1976, p. 19) remark that such an approach treats "troublesome social problems originating in the economy as aberrations which may be alleviated by means of enlightened social programs." Yet immigrants are not an aberration; and they are not going to go away. The net result of grouping by perceived deficiency (i.e. inadequate language skills) is legitimization of the existing socioeconomic hierarchy as many immigrants move into the lowest echelons of that order.

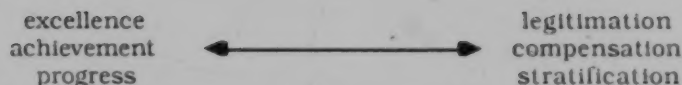


Figure 7.1 ADULT EDUCATION AND ESL FUNCTIONS: A DIALECTIC

Informant V. experienced firsthand the contradictions implicit in such a division. His goals were educational, his needs both educational and linguistic. Though he was able to gain entry to an adult education programme, no one in that institution could understand his needs for language support. The onus for assistance was placed outside the programme and onto V. himself. The ESL programme in which he registered was not responsive to his needs either. Finally, and only through intervention of a settlement agency, was he counselled appropriately. Had V. merely given up along the way, he might have disappeared into a crowd of limited-English speaking, unskilled service industry workers.

Consider R., who was accepted, with some latitude, as a mature student into an academic programme, then jostled from place to place about his English competence. R. expressed concern for newcomers from less competitive societies trying to understand "the system" and find a place that matches their talents.

Many are being counselled into low level employment with no view to mobility (Appendix II, D1, B13).

Funding and Programming

Funding patterns are consistent with the goals indicated in the previous section. Mainstream programmes, those oriented toward society as a whole, operate with a high degree of ongoing base funding while ESL funding is group specific, term specific, temporary and conditional (Funders C1, C2, C3, C4). In this way, there is societal commitment to ongoing development and maintenance of a mainstream adult

education infrastructure, while ESL programmes remain largely peripheral, no matter how long they have been in operation.

Goals of funding for ESL programmes reflect a much narrower range of options than is available for most other adult education. C1 funds ESL and other training programmes as access to employment. C2 funds ESL for orientation and citizenship education. Beginning in April 1990, however, federal contribution to this programme has been unilaterally withdrawn (effective April 1, 1990) as part of federal deficit reduction. C3's goals are similar to C1's, highlighting the language/training schism by commenting that "After English capability is adequate, funding is available for skill training or training wage subsidy, if necessary" (C3). C4 funds programmes only for those not destined for the labour force.

So funders contribute to the same kind of quandary as expressed through the conflicting views of ESL and adult education programmers concerning how much English is enough. ESL programmers criticized that adult education programmes have unrealistic expectations of immigrant learners' language (Informants A1, A6, A9) while adult education programmers countered that immigrant language skills are often inadequate to ensure success (Informants B7, B1, B4, B8). In the end, however, mainstream adult education, espousing equality of opportunity (egalitarianism), is funded globally while ESL programmes, client and need specific (compensation), are funded on a per programme or per hour basis. While supporting segregated, pluralist responses to immigrant language needs (i.e. ESL programmes) in temporary and transient ways recognizes special needs among this group, it fails to contextualize them within an existing broad range of funded learning opportunities. Are goals and needs so dissimilar across this growing and diverse population of adult learners?

Funding was mentioned repeatedly by informants as a barrier to participation by immigrants (Informants A1, A2, A4, A6, A10, A11, B2, B10, B8, C2, D2, D4, D7).

Concerns included:

a) appropriacy of range of models:

Need for funding for part-time students – Learning a language by being in class all day is probably not productive (B10).

At the moment, most government-sponsored language training is full-time only; part-time study is for fee payers and ranges broadly in cost. Some programmes have long waiting lists (B8, A4).

b) inadequacy of current levels of funding:

Limitations of AVT sponsorship to two ESL sessions in the five hour per day program (A11).

longer periods of training with living allowances for new immigrants (needed) (C2).

It is difficult to learn enough English in the weeks of training which the government pays for. And yet ESL training is expensive for those who want it: waiting time to get into a program is very long and discourages those who wanted to learn (B8).

Identified here is the need both for increased support for learners through living allowances and for programmes to subsidize the cost of study. Obviously funders work under their own restrictions and the public purse is not bottomless, but is providing more of the same kind of ESL the only or the most appropriate response to immigrant learner needs?

TESL Canada (1982), in its statement of principles for adult ESL programming, recommended consideration of a two-stage approach. Part I would address the basic settlement and language needs of the recently arrived (12 weeks). This would be followed by individual educational and career counselling, and a subsequent Part II component, with more integrative language learning tailored to individual needs.

In examining appeals for increased funding and extended periods of sponsorship it may be necessary to determine the underlying basis of the demand. It is unclear from the above comments whether it is the length of the language training course that is problematic or the options available to the individual as a consequence of study. Each is possible, but each requires a markedly different kind of response. While extending a

course of intensive English study may provide increased exposure to language, it cannot resolve the issue of access to employment or further learning opportunities.

c) support for non-ESL study:

Immigrants need different kinds of financial assistance than Canadian students. Because this is not available, there is systemic discrimination (D7):

Students don't have money to study (A1):

Restricted financial assistance for students (D7).

This problem is again based on egalitarian notions of access. Funding programmes for mainstream programmes assume certain kinds of learner support. Porter and Jasmin (1987) showed that, among Canadian post-secondary students, aged 30 and under (1983-84), earned income accounted for 56 percent of total sources. In addition, of non-repayable contributions (a 25 percent share of income), almost sixty percent was provided by parents, friends and relatives. The newcomer attempting to establish a family in Canada may have difficulty committing such large portions of earned income to study. As well, they may have limited or nonexistent family resources on which to draw. Lack of recognition of differences among students through varied funding support does serve, in fact, to discriminate against students who lack the support mechanisms assumed by the system.

B. Diversity in the Universe of Learners

Does the population of adult learners in Canada across the multicultural spectrum represent a continuum based on individual goals and abilities, or a discontinuum based on specialisms, unfathomable cultural differences and social segmentation? Once again, the problem assumes the form of a tension, this time based not on societal *goals* but societal *perceptions*. We can say that, to some degree, there is validity in each of the aspects. There will always be similarities among people and, simultaneously, differences between them. In the adult education context, however, exploiting the power

of this tension through awareness of diversity and consequent responsive programming is key to an integrative strategy.

Demographic data (Chapters 2 & 4) revealed that foreign born Canadians accounted for about sixteen percent of the population in 1981 (Employment and Immigration, 1987), with an increasing proportion of newcomers arriving from developing countries, particularly Asia, Central and South America. More than fifty percent of newcomers are in the age range 20-39 (Alberta Region CEIC, 1988). StatsCan data (1988) revealed that education levels among recently arrived ethnic groups (Figure 4.6) were even more diverse than those encountered among more established ethnic groups, spanning both ends of the schooling measure.

Yet, when considering indicators of economic integration (levels of unemployment, annual income) among various ethnic communities, it is clear that educational background does not correlate with economic success in the same way among all groups. We need to understand the effect of other intervening variables. For example, the factor most highly correlated with economic success among groups profiled is race. Figure 4.5 shows that those with the highest earnings have European backgrounds, including British, French, Polish and Romanian groups. Conversely, the factor most highly correlated with economic disadvantage across all groups is gender: women consistently earn average wages far lower than their male counterparts, no matter which ethnic group is considered. Such findings demonstrate the salience of the power-conflict critique in analyzing factors relating to social participation within a multicultural society. Characteristics of particular groups enter the economic equation as either compatible or conflicting with functionalist values, yielding results of economic advantage or disadvantage.

Culture is another such variable. Some minority groups, in spite of the fact that educational levels are similar to more economically successful groups, continue to experience fairly high levels of unemployment and low earnings. Chileans, who have

been established in Canada since the late 1970s, are such an example. Educational background among Chileans has not translated in employment terms in the same way that it has for the Koreans, a group arriving at about the same time. How can we explain this difference? Further, how can we account for an unemployment rate among Punjabi women which is more than double that of Punjabi men? How can we account for continuing low earnings among Vietnamese in spite of relative high levels of education among that group and their relatively established status? Without addressing the inherent conflict between a functionalist system and a multicultural state, these phenomena remain merely curious statistical problems.

Clearly, we cannot assume that newcomer groups have equal opportunities to practise the skills which they have developed before coming to Canada, or, if they do, to compete economically with more established groups. In considering the fundamental implications of cultural integration, we must confront tangible evidence of the failure of functionalism to facilitate integration.

Mechanisms of Systemic Discrimination

To propose alternatives it is first necessary to expose the mechanisms which serve to functionally discriminate against minorities in adult education. The close relationship between education and employment in a capitalist society (Bowles and Gintis, 1976: p. 10; Bourdieu, 1976: p. 110) suggests that we will find correlates of societal mechanisms within the structure of education. Evidence relating to this study centres on the institutional data.

1. *Fragmentation of responsibility:* Four funders, two federal and two provincial authorities participated in this study. None of them, however, has accepted the role of coordinator of planning and programming of the whole.

These potential sources of uncoordination have tended to impede coherent planning as a possible outcome of a newcomer settlement programme and prevent any comprehensive language-training policy

from being initiated and carried out with clarity (TESL Canada, 1982: p. 58).

Each funder is concerned with only a particular type of funded programme (a pluralistic response), therefore none is charged with addressing the gaps between them. Chapter 4 documented the dilemmas faced by learners trying to fathom the system, the needs for literacy education, upgrading, requalification and training. With such fragmentation, however, no one authority can be held responsible to provide a coordinated response to the actual range of needs in the community.

2. *Lack of ongoing commitment to programmes for immigrants:* In spite of the fact that immigration is an established aspect of Canada's national development, programmes to support language education and settlement are still largely funded on an ad hoc basis. Full-time, employment-oriented ESL programmes are funded through "seat purchase," that is, on a per capita basis while part-time programmes are funded hourly. Grants to settlement agencies vary, depending on whether funding is annual or project-based. Continuation is thus tenuous, coordinators are constantly preoccupied with funding applications, updates on new project initiatives or funding withdrawal, and reporting on finishing projects. Recognizing this uncertainty as an impediment to ongoing settlement support, the Task Force on Mental Health for Immigrants and Refugees (1988: p. 27) Report recommended:

Stable funding must be provided to enhance the efficacy of language training by enabling administrators as well as instructors to improve programs on the basis of experience. At present, evaluations of many language programs are never utilized because the programs themselves are so short-lived.

3. *Limited recognition of the dynamics of immigrant learning needs:* In Chapter 6, R. tells the story of how he was able to work with limited English for good wages until he was injured on the job. The same thing was said by A. We could also talk to women who never planned to enter the workforce but were forced to because of divorce or family tragedy. We could consider the situation of the Latin Americans, as reported by A7.

where motivation to learn English is low among men, but high among women who see an opportunity to change their traditional role.

The process of immigrant adaptation is unique to the population of newcomers but, because of its goal in integration, potentially generalizable to outcomes across the spectrum of society. By limiting programming initiatives only to employment, non-employment and citizenship we are projecting a two dimensional perception of their needs (based on groupness and societal goals for them) not a dynamic recognition of the diversity their backgrounds and goals (based on long-term social, economic and political participation).

4. *Isolation of ESL Programmes from "Mainstream" Adult Education:* As identified in Chapter 5, ESL programmes address the special needs of a particular group (compensatory education) while mainstream programmes are goal specific (functional). As such, the interaction between the two is extremely limited: the dialectic tension is focussed onto the learners themselves, for it is they who must learn, they who must qualify. ESL programmers A1, A2, A5, and A9 expressed frustration at the lack of willingness of adult educators to adjust to the needs of newcomers while adult educators B3, B4, B7, B8, and B11 felt that ESL programmes are not adequately preparing students for other kinds of study.

The literature, however, is quite clear about the integrative relationship of language and learning (Mohan, 1986; Wong Fillmore, 1982; Cummins, 1986; Hynes, 1987, Hymes, 1980), and this is echoed by several informants:

We found that learners in Job Reentry improved their English dramatically because their learning was tied to personal goals and employment goals (A7);

Learners need language which will enable them to reintegrate into their occupational area (A2);

An integrated approach is best, anticipating culture-related problems/family stresses, need for confidence and newness of content (B13).

Such an approach, however, may be met with skepticism by mainstream adult educators:

While I believe and fully support concept, adult educator may not have specific skills, abilities and resources required (as well as understanding of cultural barriers) to ensure immigrant receives support necessary for their success (B11);

We require a basic level of English proficiency in order that students have a likelihood of success and to assure that inadequately prepared students do not retard the progress of the class (B7).

Again, the contrast illustrates the tension between the preeminence of the "system" as it exists (assimilation) and the intended efficacy of isolating ESL learners in order to teach them English (segregation). If the tension between these two positions is to be exploited, then ESL learning and multicultural awareness must become an integrated component of adult education. This means that adult education programmes themselves must adapt, like learners, to the changing needs of an integrated, multiethnic society.

Cummins (1986) has argued, with respect to the situation of minority children, that empowerment of minority students through involvement of their communities in schooling has the effect of empowering the communities themselves. Yet, what are schools for adults doing to support those same ends? Does adult education have a similar role in the development of the community?

5. *Use of testing to discount rather than to recognize competence:* The discriminatory use of language testing as part of entrance requirements by adult education programmes was mentioned by many ESL and settlement agency participants (A1, A9, D1, D3, D4 D7). Testing was less an issue among adult education programmers where it appeared only once, curiously, with respect to preparedness of learners from ESL programmes.

Many graduates of such programs remain unable to meet the score specified as the minimum acceptable standard on the TOEFL exam (B7).

Designed to exclude on the basis of English proficiency (as separate from personal competence), a measure which has been questioned in its relationship with academic success (Graham, 1987), such testing can be seen as an instrument of functionalism, segregating those who cannot yet use standard English in the same way as native speakers. In this way, competence developed in another language can be discounted since it cannot be expressed in the required manner.

6. *Equality of Access* — Continuing adherence among mainstream institutions to the notion of equality of access serves to discount documentation of structural disadvantage in society and to distance such schools from involvement in the issue of disadvantage. Deutsch (1975, p. 143), in describing interpretations of justice in different kinds of systems, observes that a dominant societal goal of economic productivity "results in competition among ends for the available limited means," perpetuating existing power biases.

7. *Lack of minority representation in an advisory capacity to mainstream programmes and institutions:* — Among ESL programmes (full- and part-time) responding, three of eleven had an advisory group or board (A2, A5 A7) each with ethnic representation. Seven of thirteen adult education programmes indicated an advisory body (B1, B2, B3, B7, B8, B9, B13) with three involving ethnic representation (B3, B9, B13). Data from B3 and B9 (same institution) was unclear as to specific ethnic representation and was confounded by the remark that "foreign groups from Libya, Africa, China, South America, etc." (Q.14, B3) constitute community ethnic groups. A clear distinction between *foreign* students and resident *ethnic minority* students was not evidenced.

Only one adult education programme surveyed, therefore, consciously includes ethnic minority participation in its advisory process (B13). This lack of community consultation again highlights the pervasiveness of the functionalist view that all groups are served equally through provision of equal access.

8. *Lack of multicultural outreach strategies* – One of the main recommendations made by Hynes (1987, p. 139) in her study for George Brown College in Toronto concerned the availability of programmes to cultural communities. She recommended that:

the College develop a policy on outreach to members of Toronto's diverse racial and cultural communities, making this a total organizational commitment, with resources to ensure implementation of an action plan.

Strategies to this end included career exhibitions for various communities, ethnic representation on departmental advisory committees and availability of informational literature about the college in the major immigrant languages of the community.

The demand for outreach strategies in Edmonton is also growing, as indicated by many responses offered throughout the questionnaires. Among comments indicating such needs are:

a) Recognition of already earned skills:

Home country education or credentials are not accepted in Canada (D4);

Accreditation of past skills (B13);

Mainstream agencies, including government departments, need clearer understanding of cultural and educational backgrounds of clients (D7);

Even worse is the political reality of those who come with qualifications but no papers to prove them (D1).

b) Professional upgrading:

What I believe is to promote more professional training which is linked with their previous education (A2);

Limited or no scope for immigrant doctors and lawyers/professionals for further studies (D4).

c) Skills training:

More vocational training needed (D4);

Education more closely linked with employment (D4);

Not enough language-based job training (A7).

d) Community participation:

I would like to see is more emphasis toward helping newcomers develop the English skills necessary for participation not only in academic/vocational education, but also for participation in our communities as volunteers, community leaders, politicians, etc. (A5);

Issue of literacy in own language and English language acquisition should be looked at (B4).

e) Access to information and counselling:

Public awareness of programmes available — many probably do not know where to go for assistance and training. Programs need to be publicized more (B12);

Career planning with realistic options (B13);

Few programs are tailored to reflect multicultural interest and understanding. In addition, these programmes are not always advertised in the ethnocultural community newspapers and almost never in other languages (D5);

Lack of multi-lingual calendar of available courses. Immigrants often don't know what their options are (A3).

f) Employing minority staff members:

In mainstream agencies, there is not minority staff to help bridge cultural barriers (D1);

These documented needs are rendered invisible by a system which presumes a culturally homogeneous population and provision of ESL the sole response necessary for all immigrant learning needs. Without cultural adaptation *by the system itself*, an increasing proportion of society will be excluded from mainstream institutions as immigration increases.

C. Education for Multicultural Community Development

What are the implications of multicultural goals in the adult education community of Edmonton? What are the implications of adult education goals in the multicultural community of Edmonton? These questions are concave and convex mirrors, each

reflecting the same object according to its cast. Institutional structures without such goals only contribute to the maintenance of social hierarchies and structural disadvantage along culture, race and gender lines. We could minimize the import of these problems by admitting, as a society, that this structural hierarchy is the basis of our economy and that we intend to keep it because it works. Such a position, however, fails to recognize not only the tremendous injustices carried out against minorities, but the dramatic changes taking place within our population as a whole. Immigration is increasing in importance as Canadians face the future with a larger proportion of aging people and a diminishing number of young people.

The scenario presented thus far demands the context of the larger community if its full impact is to be felt. It has been a frustration in tackling this study, that immigrant issues remain largely invisible to most Canadians, invisible because of forces which minimize the value of education for and social participation by immigrants. This research has crossed many academic disciplines to make a whole of what first appeared as many tiny and discrete parts. But it is here, at the community level, that I feared my study would crumble, its findings obliterated under the weight of economic and political exigencies which seem to exercise supremacy over almost everything in daily life: work, train travel, the environment, the mail.

Any discussion of changing the structural dynamics of a society through education or any other means, presupposes social change of the whole. Such is the case for adult education. As I have shown, it is not enough to open the door and invite immigrants to come into Canada on the terms allowed by a dominant elite. The diverse needs of our growing ethnic minorities require reciprocal adaptation on the part of our educational and social infrastructure if Canadians are to develop as a people of diverse origins unified in purpose.

Recent initiatives of the federal Department of Employment and Immigration, in response to growing concern about the status of visible minorities in Canada, have

implemented equity requirements in the hiring practices of companies doing business with the federal government (Toward Equality, 1986). These brave measures were introduced as a first step toward the elimination of discrimination against visible minorities in the Canadian workplace. Any equity programme, however, is perilous if it only succeeds in bringing into question the competence of the very people it is designed to support. As Hymes (1983, p. 204) has observed:

The worst case is when persons are hired for their ethnic identity and not their professional competence. It is no service to an ethnic group to right the wrong of past exclusion by associating it with shoddy work.

Yet this is the very danger which is posed when immigrants are excluded from opportunities to adjust or upgrade their skills and training to the Canadian context through education.

Since, to a great extent, Canada's labour market needs dictate its immigration policies, persons who have been selected for immigration arrive with the expectation that they will be able to practise the occupation in which they have training and experience. Failure to realize these expectations results in frustration, alienation from a familiar working environment, erosion of skills and ultimate loss of human potential to the Canadian economy. In fact, occupational adaptation may well be more significant for mental health outcome than economic adaptation (Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees, 1988; p. 30).

This is not to suggest that adult education is a panacea for all problems associated with immigrant adaptation. It is an acknowledgement that education responds to forces in the larger society and that immigration is one of those forces. Thus, to suggest change in the ways that immigrants participate in adult education is to ask the same of society in general, that is, the multiculturalizing of the economy and society.

The situation is made more challenging by the fact that multiculturalism, as a social philosophy rather than a tokenism of song and dance, is relatively new to many mainstream Canadian institutions. We are only gradually awakening to the realities of the diverse society we have become. There are no textbooks which tell how to organize for multiculturalism. In fact, strong American influence in Canadian educational

administration has served to mitigate against more direct response to the specific cultural needs of our own community.

Issues of ethnicity and class, which lie so close to the heart of the pluralist dilemma in education and which result in a wide range of philosophical and operational problems, are further exacerbated by the absence of any clearly formulated concept of educational policy set in the framework of broader national policies (Mallea, 1984: p. 92).

Canadians can no longer afford to live by policies for multiculturalism which serve to acknowledge the legitimacy of cultural diversity but fail to offer a structural framework by which it can be implemented. Such a position serves only to legitimize the marginalized status of those whom the legislation was originally intended to benefit. Conversely, it also serves to justify the cynicism of its critics, hence to affirm the status quo.

There are more global views concerning education and social participation in Canada, epitomized perhaps by Porter (1979, p. 279) :

Public education has been overly concerned with labor force objectives, with the questionable faith that the labor force in its changes with increasing industrialization represented constantly unfolding opportunity for all. For the future orientation of education, if it is to help in the creation of a fair and just society, there must be a new concern for developing more participant workers and more active citizens than we have had in the history of our liberal market systems.

It is this kind of global view which we must, as a community, embrace if we are to effect the kinds of structural changes indicated by the findings of this study. Identified are:

- a) goals – Goals of adult education programmes must be considered within the community of context rather than more narrow functionalist objectives for schooling. Only in this way, can the goals of the larger community reflect the aspirations and competence of the many groups of which it is constituted. (see Chapter 4)
- b) the centrality of diversity – Schooling can act as a force to unlock and enhance the skills and abilities of newcomers. This statement has as its premise the recognition of competence across a diversity of people. It implies a curriculum

process based on continuous assessment of and response to changing community needs, that is, an ongoing outreach process.

- c) the recognition of competence — Adult education programmers must adopt an advocacy role with regard to minorities, rather than using linguistic measures to discount competence. More research concerning the integration of language and content teaching at the adult level is required.
- d) education and economics — There is no direct cause and effect relationship between education and economics. In fact, as shown in Chapter 4, factors such as race and gender have a much higher correlation with economic success. What can be said about the relationship between these two, however, is that skills which are translatable into the Canadian context are more valuable than skills which are not. Schooling has a role in facilitating the adaptation of already earned skills to the Canadian context. Schooling can also address the needs of those whose skills are not translatable (subsistence farmers, soldiers, etc.) and who would otherwise be rendered unskilled.
- e) recognition of the mechanics of systemic discrimination as an impediment to actual cultural integration, and a national commitment to eliminate these structural problems.

Multiculturalism in Adult Education — Some Directions

In the absence of an articulated framework, there are indications of direction which have emerged from this study and other writings. These are:

- a) The need to evaluate institutional and programme goals as they relate to particular groups within the community;
- b) recognition of the mechanisms of systemic discrimination

In considering these elements, however, it is important to begin by acknowledging the primacy of culture in fundamental aspects of behaviour, and the potential for

conflict in all intercultural settings. One way, our current way, of dealing with this conflict has already been addressed at length, that is, the solution of assimilation and segregation. Alternatives to this extreme require recognition of the educational context as inherently cultural, with all the pitfalls that word entails. Systems are organized by people and are expressed through the values of their culture. Intercultural communication is a field which has grown rapidly as the world shrinks through increased international trade, education and diplomacy. Many Canadian institutions and businesses have already acquired intercultural skills in response to the possibility of developing new markets, cultivating research opportunities, attracting international clients and students to the expertise and culture which we have evolved locally. These efforts address things foreign, acknowledging the ambiguity implicit in international dealings. Our functionalist view of our own milieu, however, has prevented us from perceiving and responding to the intercultural dynamics which have developed here at home.

Awareness

Awareness was the central theme arising from all survey data (Chapter 5). Settlement agency participants described the need for developing awareness of social and educational systems among clients; ESL programme participants expressed a need for increased awareness of immigrant needs among mainstream adult educators; adult educators expressed concern that ESL programmes were not aware of their requirements or their constraints. In addition, awareness was discussed as a problem of specialization as it concerned the demographer's and the teacher's respective views of the same immigrants.

Any discussion of awareness of others must begin, however, with self awareness, development of awareness of how our own cultural experience has shaped our views. As shown by the various points of view expressed by survey participants, there is a need for

this kind of development across all groups: minority learners, mainstream educators, settlement agency workers, funders, politicians. If we are going to participate in an experiment, we need tools with which to carry it out. Self awareness is a tool which will allow us to begin to understand the tension between assimilation and segregation, and to reach for alternatives.

CHAPTER 6 — IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Executive Summary

In Canada's increasingly multicultural society, social and economic participation by all groups must be considered an integral aspect of social stability and national development. Recent years have seen the implementation of programmes to this end in the areas of employment equity (Toward Equality, 1986), integration-oriented second language education in basic education (Alberta Education, 1986) and heritage language education. Little, however, has been written concerning the role of adult education in promoting cultural integration even though more than half of all immigrants arriving in Alberta are between the ages of 20-39 (CEIC, 1988).

This study probed the ways in which immigrants participate in adult education in Edmonton, based on data collected for the year 1987. First and foremost, the context of the study required definition as it impinged on several different but interrelated fields: Adult Education, English as a second language education, immigration, population, multiculturalism, settlement and adaptation. The topic was broached from the perspective of Canada's stated commitment to the concept of cultural integration, and the role of education in responding to the needs of adults in a diverse society.

A survey of four fields of participants — ESL programmes, adult education programmes, ESL programme funders, settlement agencies — revealed, not unpredictably, that quantitative data identifying actual numbers of immigrant learners was not consistently available across the range of participants. This limitation was compensated for by the incorporation of demographic profiles for ethnic groups most highly represented in recent immigration. In this way, indicators of social and economic participation — annual income, rates of unemployment, educational background — could be compared with those of more established groups — French, British, Aboriginals and Metis, and implications correlated with those of the

survey findings. The composite profile was assessed within a framework of cultural integration. Thus, the final approach taken to the problem was one of supply and demand: documentation of the conditions of participation and indications of demand and need as observed by immigrant-serving programmes and agencies, minority profiles and documents in the literature of settlement and adaptation.

Analysis considered assumptions underlying programming as relating to potential outcomes of cultural assimilation, cultural integration or segregation. A major subject of discussion here was the role and placement of ESL education within the continuum of adult education programming in view of support from second language researchers (Cazden, 1977; Cummins, 1986; Wong Fillmore, 1982; Mohan, 1987) for integrative language education. The integrative model is proposed in recognition of the difficulty of learning language appropriate to a given context without access to that context.

The investigation revealed inconsistencies between national goals of cultural integration and practices of many adult education programmes in Edmonton which imply assimilation as a condition of participation. Goals of assimilation are implied when the onus for adaptation is placed entirely on minority applicants, that is, external to the structure of the programme or institution itself. The result of such an orientation is systemic discrimination against members of cultural minorities.

Systemic discrimination arises from the fundamental structure of a society in which economic values (production, efficiency, profit) pervade all aspects of social life, including education (Deutsch, 1975; Bowles and Gintis, 1976), based on values of competition, individual initiative and cost effectiveness. Counterbalancing values of uniqueness, need and access are thus downplayed, contributing to the institutionalization of disadvantage. Mechanisms found to perpetuate systemic discrimination against immigrants include:

1. Fragmentation of responsibility for education of adult immigrants across federal/provincial and various departmental jurisdictions resulting in a lack of coherent planning and an uncoordinated response to the range of identified needs.

2. Lack of proactive and ongoing commitment to programmes for immigrants. Hourly or per student funding predominates in ESL programmes and mitigates against stability of programming (e.g. curriculum development, special needs programming), mainstream institutional interest and long term professional commitment of teachers.

3. Lack of initiatives recognizing the range of immigrant learning needs as comparable with the same dynamic range experienced in the rest of the community.

4. Isolation of ESL programmes from the mainstream of adult education. Development of English skills is viewed as prerequisite to rather than corequisite with development of other skills. Language needs are viewed as special, beyond the scope of mainstream adult educators and the adult education system.

5. Use of language testing to discount competence. Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) labels as "linguicism" practices based on language which "legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources" (p. 13). Continuing use of tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and the Michigan Test demonstrate the unpreparedness of programmes and institutions to engage with the reality of an increasingly diverse population.

6. Equal opportunity – Continuing adherence to the idea that equality of opportunity is enough, even though evidence of structural disadvantage, cultural difference suggests otherwise.

7. Lack of minority representation in the advisory processes of mainstream programmes and institutions.

8. Lack of multicultural outreach strategies to adapt expertise to documented community needs (e.g. requalification of professionals, vocational training, community development, multicultural management).

Implications of the Study

1. *In/visibility* – An acknowledged limitation of this study was the difficulty in securing actual documentation of levels of immigrant participation in adult education. As shown, however, the dominant functionalist perspective has the effect of rendering the subject invisible (since most immigrants who might apply are disqualified through language testing or financial constraints) while the power-conflict perspective tends to render visible the minorities and the problems, but to obscure the organization of the whole.

The notion of "equality of access" to programmes was shown to legitimize the failure of those who could not meet prescribed criteria. As a result, it is necessary to consider alternative formulations when discussing equality. Flora MacDonald's (Toward Equality, 1986) initiative to address racially-based inequalities in employment was a first step toward this goal. Unless there is community cooperation to empower minorities with recognized qualifications and skills to compete, however, such initiatives may be weakened.

2. *Awareness among Decision Makers* – Multiculturalism, in the Canadian context, cannot be viewed as an issue just for minorities but, at the structural level, requires cultural adaptation by the majority as well. It is not enough to say that minorities have the opportunity to integrate and be like "us" when the actual sense of that word implies *mutual accommodation*, including adaptation by mainstream institutions to the cultural orientations of minorities.

Mutual accommodation begins with the recognition of the primacy of culture in fundamental aspects of behaviour: it is the way we see the world. Any intercultural encounter has the potential for misunderstanding and this increases the importance, in a multicultural society, of developing strategies to minimize such conflict. One way, our current way of dealing with this conflict has already been addressed at length, that is, the solution of assimilation and segregation. Alternatives to this extreme require

recognition of the educational context as inherently cultural, with all the pitfalls that word entails. Systems are organized by people and are expressed throughout the values of their culture.

Awareness was the central theme arising from this study's survey data (Chapter 5). Settlement agency participants described the need for developing awareness of social and educational systems among clients; ESL programme participants expressed a need for increased awareness of immigrant needs among mainstream adult educators; adult educators expressed concern that ESL programmes were not aware of their requirements or their constraints. In addition, awareness was discussed as a problem of specialization as it related to the respective views of demographers and ESL teachers concerning immigrants.

We are already developing tools for intercultural communication. Many Canadian educational institutions and businesses have developed such skills in response to the possibility of developing new markets, cultivating research opportunities, attracting international clients and students to our locally evolved expertise. These efforts address things foreign, acknowledging that ambiguity implicit in international dealings could interfere with economic outcomes. Our functionalist view of our own milieu, however, has prevented us from perceiving and responding to similar intercultural dynamics which have developed here at home.

3. *Implications of Increased Immigration* — Chapters 2 and 4 addressed the historical and demographic aspects of immigration to Canada and Alberta. Several observations had direct implications for adult education, including:

- a) the need for first and second language literacy and basic education access among refugees, particularly for those from countries with a long history of war (e.g. Cambodia);
- b) the need for programmes to help immigrant women particularly develop the vocational and cultural skills to become more competitive and confident in

employment. Earnings among immigrant women are currently among the lowest of all groups in Canada;

- c) the need for counselling and vocational skill training in conjunction with employment, particularly among men who experience loss of status within the family and simultaneous deskilling through migration. This situation seems most acute among Latin American groups though it will occur, to some degree, among all groups;
- d) the need for programmes tailored to the needs of skilled workers seeking requalification and/or upgrading in Alberta. Recent immigration includes increasing numbers of highly skilled workers, but without access to opportunities to adapt skills to local requirements and to develop English, the skills of these people are devalued.

Canada's history of immigrant settlement support could be instructive in helping contemporary planners, and Canadians generally, organize for potential increases in numbers of newcomers as it serves as a focus for the joint task of building a common future. Continued planning dominated by economic goals may only serve to further legitimize disadvantage among ethnic groups and lead to increased inter-ethnic tension.

4. *Strategies to Address Community Needs* – Mainstream adult education institutions and programmes need to discuss with cultural communities and settlement service agencies how they can adapt programmes to better serve needs as they exist in the community. This may include tailoring outreach programming to bridge cultural differences relating to background knowledge and teaching style, sponsorship of integrated language programming, increased cooperation between settlement agencies/ESL programmes and mainstream programmers to more effectively use community expertise. The need for more advertising by mainstream programmes in ethnocultural media was also highlighted by the study.

5. Need for teacher education programmes to encourage members of minorities to become or requalify as teachers. The Alberta Council on Tolerance and Understanding report (1984) recognized schools as instrumental in the interpretation of multiculturalism in society. Any response to such recommendations must include structurally-based strategies, drawing in members of cultural minorities both as students and as teachers.

6. The need for further research concerning first language and second language literacy development. There is a growing concern about literacy education among immigrants. The Southam literacy survey (1987) estimated roughly one quarter of illiterates identified as immigrants. Differences in language and culture, however, mean that expertise for developing literacy in English are not directly applicable in the second language situation. To date, very little research has been published concerning first and second language literacy.

7. Disadvantage within specific communities is so significant that it warrants specific research and initiatives (e.g. Latin American community, Vietnamese community, Cambodian community, immigrant women generally). Responses may or may not involve formal education, though education may play a part in reducing existing inequities.

8. In order to involve minority community members in mainstream programmes, staff development opportunities for mainstream educators regarding intercultural communication and anti-racist education should be encouraged.

9. To bridge the gap between the work of demographic planners and settlement and education workers, there is a need for interdisciplinary dialogue, language and social planning to remedy current discontinuities in settlement process.

10. More research into integrated language teaching at the adult level.

11. As a society committed constitutionally to multiculturalism, we have a need for more objective study of existing societal structures, including economic structures, and

their compatibility with our cultural goals. Such a process could lead to the development of made-in-Canada and made-in-Alberta alternatives to current structures of discrimination.

Recommendations

A. ESL Programmes

1. More inroads toward advisory process involving mainstream institutions/ethnic communities must be made.
2. Programmers need to develop community awareness of and seek mainstream involvement in addressing the broad range of immigrant learner needs (e.g. joint sponsorship of programmes to unite language and learning objectives).
3. The range of types of ESL programming in the Edmonton area should be evaluated in view of the actual needs and goals of learners (e.g. short term settlement orientation, reading/writing focus, bilingual programmes for seniors and those with limited literacy skills, citizenship participation, pre-vocational, professional skills).

B. Adult Educators

1. Establish more involvement of ESL programmes, settlement agencies and ethnic communities in advisory processes regarding programming.
2. Investigate the implications of a social philosophy of multiculturalism for the context of your programmes. It may be necessary to consider development of strategies for involvement which better recognize the competence of learners who have worked and studied in other systems and who may not have recognized qualifications.
3. In conjunction with encouraging increased participation of minorities, implement staff development to prepare and involve teachers in the process.

4. Investigate opportunities to advertise programmes and services through local ethnocultural media.
5. Investigate the kinds of outreach needs expressed within various cultural communities and how your programme or institution might develop responses.

This task may take some time since communities may not yet be familiar with our educational system and matching of institutional skills and community needs may require some negotiation.

C. Government and Funders

1. Develop opportunities for increased coordination of demographic and social planning, particularly to support continuity of the settlement process.
2. Develop public education initiatives to involve Canadians in issues of immigration (including history) and national development.
3. Examine the range of funding initiatives to determine how the dynamic range of learning and employment needs among immigrants and refugees is addressed.
This may require concurrent examination of the range of mainstream programmes for integrative opportunities.
4. Increased incentives for mainstream institutions to become involved in language training as an element of vocational or professional upgrading.
5. In recognition of the ongoing nature of immigration and the integral role of settlement work and language education, provide some base funding to encourage programme development, professional and institutional commitment to enhancing learning opportunities.
6. Coordinate the range of initiatives funded and ensure that a range of types of programming supported reflect the needs and goals of clients.

D. Settlement Agencies

1. Develop a more active role in building community awareness of immigrant settlement and the social philosophy of multiculturalism as it pertains to all aspects of participation.
2. Continue to develop partnerships with mainstream social service agencies and encourage involvement of members of minorities in developing solutions to the problems faced by their communities.

E. Research

1. Implementation of recommendations of this study requires further research into the application of integrated language teaching strategies in adult education.
2. Concerns expressed by a range of participants indicate that there is a need for further research into the subject of first and second language literacy, including teaching strategies, particularly with different cultures and age groups.
3. Any recommendations for recognition of multiculturalism through education require the examination of teacher training for such goals. Research to develop strategies for involving members of minorities in teacher training and teaching generally is also required.
4. Follow-up studies of particular institutions or programmes participating in this study could be conducted to inform further investigation of this subject.
5. This study should be replicated, using more intensive interviews with participants as a means to gather in-depth information about individual perspectives.

REFERENCES

- Alberta Career Development and Employment. (1987). *Immigration to Alberta (Overview from 1982 to 1986)*. Edmonton: Government of Alberta.
- Alberta Committee on Tolerance and Understanding. (1984). *Intercultural education: Discussion paper*. Calgary, AB: Committee on Tolerance and Understanding.
- Alberta Education. (1986). *English as a second language (10A, 10B, 10C)*. Edmonton: Alberta Education.
- Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. (1979). *Citizenship of students and faculty in Canadian universities: A statistical report*. (AUCC Policy Study No.2). Ottawa: AUCC.
- Bain, B. & Yu, A. (1986). Canadian ideology and second language education: Some of the issues. In L. Stewin & S. McCann (Eds.), *Issues in Canadian education*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.
- Beck, C. (1975). Is immigrant education only for immigrants? In A. Wolfgang (Ed.), *Education of immigrant students* (pp. 5-18). Toronto: OISE Press.
- Belfiore, M.E. & Heller, M. (1988). *Minority cultural groups' access to official languages: An investigation of factors affecting decision-making in interviews between counsellors and immigrant second-language speakers in the Canada Employment and Immigration setting*. Toronto: TESL Canada.
- Berrol, S.C. (1976). From compensatory education to adult education: The New York City evening schools, 1925- 1935. *Adult Education*, 26 (4), pp. 208-225.
- Birth rate boost vital. (1989, April). *Edmonton Journal*.
- Botkin, J.W., Elmandjra, M., & Malitza, M. (1979). *No limits to learning: Bridging the human gap* (A report to the Club of Rome). Oxford: Pergamon.
- Bourdieu, P. (1976). The school as a conservative force: Scholastic and cultural inequalities. In R. Dale, G. Esland & M. MacDonald (Eds.), *Schooling and capitalism* (pp. 110-117). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Bowles, S. & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bryden, J. (1988, June). Young Canada senile soon, experts fear. *Edmonton Journal*, p. B1.
- Canada. Dept. of Justice. (1986). *Toward equality: The response to the report of the Parliamentary Committee on equality rights*. Ottawa: Communications and Public Affairs, Dept. of Justice.
- Canada. House of Commons. (1988). *Bill C-93: An act for the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism in Canada*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

- Canada. Manpower and Immigration. (1974). *Green paper on immigration*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Canadian Task Force on Mental Health Issues Affecting Immigrants and Refugees. (1988). *After the door has been opened: Mental health issues affecting immigrants and refugees in Canada*. Ottawa: Health & Welfare Canada.
- Cazden, C.B. (1977). Language, literacy and literature. *The National Elementary Principal*, 57 (1), pp. 40-52.
- Cheng-Jardine, C. (1988). *Factors associated with the educational participation of Chinese immigrant women*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Edmonton: University of Alberta.
- Collins, J. (1987). Conversation and knowledge in bureaucratic settings. *Discourse Processes*, 10 (4), pp. 303-319.
- Coombs, P. H. (1985). *The world crisis in education: The view from the eighties*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Coombs, P. H. & Ahmed, M. (1974). *Attacking rural poverty: How nonformal education can help*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. (1988). *Adult illiteracy in Canada*. Toronto: Council of Ministers of Education, Canada.
- Cummins, J. (1984). Psychological assessment of minority language students. In R. Samuda, J. Berry & M. Laferriere (Eds.). *Multiculturalism in Canada*, (p. 238-249). Toronto: Allyn & Bacon.
- Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *Harvard Educational Review*, 56 (2), pp. 18-36.
- Denhart, G. (1986). *Comments on ESL issues in Alberta* (Report for Alberta Settlement Services). Edmonton: Alberta Career Development and Employment.
- Deutsch, M. (1975). Equity, equality and need: What determines which value will be used as the basis of distributive justice? *Journal of Social Issues*, 31 (3), pp. 137-149.
- Devereaux, M.S. (1985). *One in every five: A survey of adult education in Canada*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Ehrlich, H. (1973). *The social psychology of prejudice*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Employment and Immigration Canada. (1983). *Learning a living in Canada* (Report to the Minister of Employment and Immigration by the Skill Development Leave Task Force). Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Employment and Immigration Canada. (1984). *Consultation paper: Training*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Employment and Immigration Canada. (1987a). *Annual report to parliament on future immigration levels*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

- Employment and Immigration Canada. (1987b). *Immigration week information package*. Edmonton: Employment and Immigration Canada.
- Fantini, M.D. (1972). Beyond cultural deprivation and compensatory education. In R.D. Abrahams & R.C. Trolke (Eds.) *Language and cultural diversity in American education*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Foot, D. K. (1982). *Canada's population outlook: Demographic futures and economic challenges*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co.
- Foot, D.K. (1986). *Population aging and immigration policy in Canada: Implications and prescriptions*. (Population Working Paper No. 1). Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada.
- Furnborough, P., Jupp, T., Munns, R., & Roberts, C. (1982). Language disadvantage: Breaking the cycle of majority perception. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 3 (3), pp. 247-266.
- Graham, J.G. (1987). English language proficiency and the prediction of academic success. *TESOL Quarterly*, 21 (3), pp. 505-521.
- Greer, G. (1985). *Sex and destiny: The politics of human fertility*. London: Pan Books.
- Health and Welfare Canada. (1987). *Posing the questions: Review of demography and its implications for economic and social policy*. (First stage report). Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Hersak, G.A. & Francolini, S. (1987). *Immigration of children as a response to demographic concerns*. (Population Working Paper No. 3). Ottawa: Employment & Immigration Canada.
- Husseini, Z. & Susut, S. (1984). *The needs of immigrant women in Edmonton*. Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State.
- Hymes, D. (1979). Sapir, competence, voices. In C.J. Fillmore, D. Kempler, & W. S-Y. Wang (Eds.) *Individual differences in language ability and language behaviour*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 33-45.
- Hymes, D. (1980). *Language in education: Ethnolinguistic essays* (Language and ethnography series). Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Hymes, D. (1983). Report from an underdeveloped country: Toward linguistic competence in the United States. In B. Bain (Ed.) *The Sociogenesis of Language and Human Conduct*, p. 189-224. New York: Plenum.
- Hynes, M. (1987). *Access to potential: A two-way street*. (An educational and training needs assessment of Metro Toronto's diverse racial and cultural communities). Toronto: George Brown College.
- Kozol, J. (1985). *Illiterate America*. New York: Plume.
- Lenski, G. (1966). *Power and privilege: A theory of social stratification*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

- Mallea, J.R. (1984). Cultural diversity in Canadian education. In R. Samuda, J. Berry, & M. Laferriere (Eds.) *Multiculturalism in Canada*, (p. 78-98). Toronto: Allyn & Bacon.
- Marsden, L. & Harvey, E. (1979). *Fragile federation: Social change in Canada*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Mason, C. (1971). The relevance of intensive training in English as a foreign language for university students. *Language Learning*, 21 (2), p. 197-204.
- Mickelson, E. (1978). *Language needs of immigrant women*. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB.
- Mohan, B.H. (1986). *Language and content*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- Mullard, C. (1984). *Anti-racist education: The three "O's."* Cardiff: National Association for Multi-racial education.
- Mullard, C. (1980). *Racism in society and schools: History, policy and practice*. London: University of London Institute of Education.
- Newsham, G. (1969). *Teaching English as a second language in Canada*. Unpublished master's thesis. University of Alberta, Edmonton, AB.
- Nguyen, T. (1985). *Report on the "Skills training program for New Canadians" at Fairview College*. Edmonton, AB: Mennonite Centre for Newcomers.
- Ovenden, N. (1989, March). People: Too many? Not enough? *Edmonton Journal*, p. B1-B2.
- Parsons, T. & Shils, E. (Eds.) (1962). *Toward a general theory of action*. New York: Harper.
- Porter, J. (1965). *The vertical mosaic: An analysis of social class and power in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Porter, J. (1979). *The measure of Canadian society: Education, equality and opportunity*. Toronto: Gage.
- Porter, M. & Jasmin, G. (1987). *A profile of post-secondary students in Canada*. (The 1983-1984 National Post-Secondary Student Survey: Summary National Data). Ottawa: Supply and Services.
- Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada. (1985). *Report*. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Rubenson, K. (1983). *Barriers to participation in adult education*. (Task Force on Skill Development Leave: Background Paper 4). Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Schermerhorn, R.A. (1970). *Comparative ethnic relations: A frame work for theory and research*. New York: Random House.

- Shor, I. (1986). *Culture wars: School and society in the conservative restoration 1969-1984*. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1988). Multilingualism and the education of minority children. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas & J. Cummins (Eds.) *Minority education: From shame to struggle*, (p. 9-44). Clevedon, Eng.: Multilingual Matters.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Cummins, J. (Eds.) (1988). *Minority education: From shame to struggle*. Clevedon, Eng.: Multilingual Matters.
- Smith, P. (1982). Al, Elaine, Jennie and Jack: The challenge of diversely-prepared learners. *College Board Review*, No. 125, pp. 7-28.
- Southam Newspaper Group. (1987). *Broken words: Why five million Canadians are illiterate*. Toronto: Southam.
- Statistics Canada. (1989). *Dimensions: Profile of ethnic groups*. (StatsCan Publication 93-154). Ottawa: Minister of Supply & Services.
- Staff. (1988, July). Price tag on illiteracy. *Business Task Force on Literacy*, p. 1.
- Taylor, C. (1987). *Demography and immigration to Canada: challenge and opportunity*. Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada.
- TESL Canada. (1981). *The provision of English as a second language (ESL) training to adult newcomers: Six principles toward a national policy*. Toronto: TESL Canada.
- Wismer, S. (1988). *Women's education and training in Canada: A policy analysis*. Toronto: Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1982). The language learner as an individual: Implications of research on individual differences for the ESL teacher. In M. Clarke & J. Handscombe (eds.) *On TESOL '82*. Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

APPENDIX I — QUESTIONNAIRE FORMS**SURVEY OF IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN THE ADULT EDUCATION***Community of Edmonton*

When complete, please return to: Laura E. Ho
 Dept. of Secondary Education
 University of Alberta
 Edmonton, AB T6G 2E5

Form A — ESL Programme Participants

Name of Programme _____

Address _____

Contact Person (who completes this survey) _____

Contact Person's Job Title _____

Tel. _____

1. Programme Type a) full-time _____
 b) part-time _____
 c) both full and part-time _____
 (If you choose C, please complete a survey for each programme).

PART I — THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RELATE TO YOUR STUDENT POPULATION FOR THE YEAR 1987.

2. Students — Rate participation in terms of sponsorship.
 1 for largest proportion, 3 for smallest proportion.

Students are: a) self-sponsored (fee-paying) _____
 b) government-sponsored _____
 c) accepted without fees (free programme) _____

3. Number of individual students registered in 1987 _____

4. Goals of students entering your programme.
 (Rate 1 -most important to 6 — least important)

a) employment _____ d) communication skills _____
 b) other adult ed _____ e) literacy _____
 c) interaction with Canadians _____ f) other (specify) _____

page 2 of 5

5. Students' ages (please indicate using percentages):

a) under 18 _____ b) 18-35 _____ c) over 35 _____
 m _____ f _____ m _____ f _____ m _____ f _____

6. Length of time in Canada (indicate proportions):

a) 0 - 6 months _____
 b) 7 mos. - 1 yr. _____
 c) 13 mos. - 3 yr. _____
 d) over 3 yrs. _____

7. Native countries of students - Please indicate the five most common source countries of your students and the proportion of students from each in 1987.

Proportion (%)

1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

8. Educational Background of Students (indicate using proportions) (%)

a) 0 - 5 yr. _____
 b) 6 - 10 yr. _____
 c) completed basic education _____
 d) technical school or college _____
 e) university degree (s) _____

9. Please describe the goals of your programme in providing language education for immigrants. (Attach documentation if that is more convenient).

10. What system do you use to determine and describe student progress in language development? (Attach documentation if that is more convenient).
11. When a student completes a course in your programme, what does that mean -
- a) to the student?
- b) to your programme?
- c) to funders (if you receive funding) ?
12. What options *within your institution* are immediately accessible to students as a result of completing your programme?
- a) non-credit adult ed. _____ c) vocational training _____
- b) credit courses _____ d) other (specify) _____

page 4 of 5

13. What barriers, if any, do you perceive regarding immigrant participation in adult education programmes in Edmonton?

Programme Participation

14. Does your programme have a board of directors/community advisory group?

yes

no

15. If you answered yes in Question 14, do you have minority participation in this group? Which minorities are currently represented?

a) disable _____

d) ethnic _____

b) native _____

e) other (specify) _____

c) women _____

16. Are you a member of an advisory committee/board for any mainstream agencies or schools? Please indicate such affiliations.

17. As a programme deliverer, how would you rate *overall* current funding initiatives which address the educational needs of adult immigrants in Edmonton?

1
highly
adequate

2
adequate

3
somewhat
inadequate

4
very
inadequate

18. As a programme deliverer, how would you rate the range of educational opportunities currently available to adult immigrants in Edmonton?

1
highly
adequate

2
adequate

3
somewhat
inadequate

4
very
inadequate

page 5 of 5

19. As a programme deliverer, how would you rate *overall* current funding initiatives which address the educational needs of the general adult population of Edmonton?
- | | | | |
|----------|----------|------------|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| highly | adequate | somewhat | very |
| adequate | | inadequate | inadequate |
20. As a programme deliverer, how would you rate the range of educational opportunities currently available to adults in the general population of Edmonton?
- | | | | |
|----------|----------|------------|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| highly | adequate | somewhat | very |
| adequate | | inadequate | inadequate |
21. In your view, what is the best way for immigrants to develop the English language skills necessary for participation in academic/vocational education programmes in our community?

(Please rate: 1 is best, 6 is least favourable)

- a) ESL courses _____
 - b) ESL courses plus
other non-credit adult education courses _____
 - c) Adult Basic Education/Academic Upgrading _____
 - d) Non-credit adult education courses _____
 - e) Self study _____
 - f) Other (specify) _____
22. If there are issues which you feel have not been addressed by this questionnaire regarding this topic, please use this space to address them here (and overleaf, if necessary).

Thank you for your interest and participation.

SURVEY OF IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN THE ADULT EDUCATION*Community of Edmonton*

When complete, please return to: Laura E. Ho
Dept. of Secondary Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB T6G 2E5

Form B - Adult Education Participants

Name of school or institution _____

Address _____

Contact Person (who completes survey) _____

Contact's Job Title _____

Tel. _____

1. Programme Type a) full-time _____

b) part-time _____

c) both full and part-time _____

(If you choose C, please complete a survey for each programme).

2. Total number of student registrations for 1987 _____

3. Number of registrations of students in 1987 with mother tongue other than
English or French who are *not* foreign students. _____4. What is the mandate of your school in providing adult education opportunities?
(Attach documentation if that is more convenient)5. What qualification, if any, do you require of student applicants with English as a
second language?

page 3 of 4

11. Is your programme (as identified in Question 1) a member of an advisory committee/board for any immigrant settlement agencies or ethnic communities in Edmonton?

yes

no

12. If you answered "yes" in Question 11, please specify in which agency or community your programme participates.

13. Does your school currently offer support programmes for any community groups with special needs?

yes

no

14. If you answered yes to Question 13, describe each group addressed and your rationale for providing such support.

13. What problems, if any, does your school perceive in the ESL preparation of immigrant applicants for study in your programmes?

14. Please rate overall current funding initiatives addressing educational programming for special needs adult learners such as immigrants.

1
highly
adequate

2
adequate

3
somewhat
inadequate

4
very
inadequate

page 4 of 4

15. Please rate the range of educational opportunities available for special needs adult learners such as immigrants in Edmonton.

1	2	3	4
highly	adequate	somewhat	very
adequate		inadequate	inadequate

16. Please rate *overall* current funding initiatives which address the general adult population of Edmonton.

1	2	3	4
highly	adequate	somewhat	very
adequate		inadequate	inadequate

17. Please rate the range of educational opportunities available for the general population of adult learners in Edmonton.

1	2	3	4
highly	adequate	somewhat	very
adequate		inadequate	inadequate

18. If there are issues pertaining to the subject of immigrant participation in adult education in Edmonton which you feel have not been addressed in this questionnaire, please include those comments here.

Thank you for your interest and participation in this survey.

page 2 of 3

5. How would you rate *overall* current funding initiatives which address the educational needs of adult immigrants?
- | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| highly
adequate | adequate | somewhat
inadequate | very
inadequate |
6. How would you rate the range of educational opportunities available to adult immigrants in Edmonton?
- | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| highly
adequate | adequate | somewhat
inadequate | very
inadequate |
7. How would you rate *overall* current funding initiative which address the educational needs of the general adult population of Edmonton?
- | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| highly
adequate | adequate | somewhat
inadequate | very
inadequate |
8. How would you rate the range of educational opportunities available to the general adult population of Edmonton?
- | | | | |
|--------------------|----------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| highly
adequate | adequate | somewhat
inadequate | very
inadequate |
9. Does your agency have a board of directors/community advisory group?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| yes | no |
|-----|----|
10. If you answered "yes" in Question 8, what minority participation is currently included in this group?
- a) disabled _____
 - b) women _____
 - c) native _____
 - d) ethnic, specifically _____
 - e) other, specifically _____
11. Is your agency a member of an advisory committee/board for any immigrant settlement agencies or immigrant education programmes?
- | | |
|-----|----|
| yes | no |
|-----|----|

12. If you answered "yes" to Question 10, in which agencies or programmes do you participate?

13. Is your agency a member of an advisory committee/board for any mainstream social service agency or adult education institution?

yes

no

14. If you answered "yes" to Question 12, in which agencies or institutions do you participate?

15. Please describe any outstanding educational needs that you have observed through your work with immigrant clients.

16. If there are any issues pertaining to immigrant participation in adult education in Edmonton which you feel that the questionnaire has not addressed, please detail them here (and overleaf if necessary).

Thank you for your interest and participation.

SURVEY OF IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN THE ADULT EDUCATION*Community of Edmonton*

When complete, please return to: Laura E. Ho
Dept. of Secondary Education
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB T6G 2E5

Form D — Settlement Agency Participants

Name of Agency _____

Address _____

Contact Person (completing this questionnaire)

Contact's Job Title _____

Tel. _____

1. Primary Agency Base:

- a) ethnic community, specifically _____
- b) community social service _____
- c) immigrant settlement _____
- d) church-sponsored) government _____

2. Types of Assistance offered: (check where appropriate)

- a) settlement counselling _____
- b) personal counselling _____
- c) interpreter service _____
- d) vocational/employment counselling _____
- e) client advocacy _____
- f) financial assistance _____
- g) language classes _____
- h) medical/dental help _____
- i) other, specifically _____

page 2 of 5

3. Mandate of your agency in assisting immigrant settlement in Edmonton. Please describe (on reverse, if necessary) or attach appropriate documentation, if available.

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RELATE TO YOUR CLIENT POPULATION FOR 1987.

4. Number of individual clients in 1987. _____
5. Number of adult immigrant clients in 1987. _____
6. Native countries of clients – Please indicate the five most common source countries of your clients and the proportion of clients from each for the year 1987.

Proportion (%)

- | | |
|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | _____ |
| 2. _____ | _____ |
| 3. _____ | _____ |
| 4. _____ | _____ |
| 5. _____ | _____ |

7. Present occupations of clients (in 1987) and numbers within each occupation.

8. Occupations of these same clients in home countries. Please list, indicating numbers within each occupation.

page 3 of 5

9. Educational levels of clients.

	Proportion (%)	
a) 0 - 5 yr.	m _____	f _____
b) 6 - 10 yr.	m _____	f _____
c) completed basic education	m _____	f _____
d) technical school or college	m _____	f _____
e) university degree (s)	m _____	f _____

10. Please indicate stated goals of clients, including

	Proportions (%)	
a) employment	m _____	f _____
b) adult education, then employment	m _____	f _____
c) more English, homemaker	m _____	f _____
d) more English, then employment	m _____	f _____
e) more English, then adult ed., then employment	m _____	f _____

11. Number of successful referrals of clients to ESL in 1987. _____

12. Number of successful referrals of clients to other adult education in 1987. _____

13. What barriers, if any, do you perceive regarding immigrant participation in adult education programmes in Edmonton? _____

(Continue on reverse, if additional space required)

page 4 of 5

Agency Participation

14. What mainstream agencies/schools are represented on your advisory committee?
(Mainstream means that the agency or school offers programming for the general population.)

15. What minorities are currently represented on your advisory committee?

- a) disabled _____
- b) native _____
- c) women _____
- d) ethnic, specifically _____
- e) other (specify) _____

16. Are you a member of an advisory committee/board for any mainstream agencies or schools? Please indicate any such affiliations.

17. Are immigrant workers within your agency interested in improving their qualifications as social service workers?

yes

no

18. If you answered "yes" to Question 14, please indicate the *primary* goals of these workers, including their numbers.

- a) work in a mainstream agency _____
- b) job security _____
- c) change occupations _____
- d) increased salary _____
- e) be more knowledgeable about client needs _____
- f) other (specify) _____

TOTAL WORKERS EMPLOYED _____

19. If there are other issues relating to the subject of immigrant participation in adult education which have not been addressed in the questionnaire, please comment here.

Thank you for your interest and participation.

page 6 (supplementary)

**SURVEY OF IMMIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN THE ADULT EDUCATION
COMMUNITY OF EDMONTON**

Form D – Settlement Agency Participants (supplementary)

20. As a settlement agency worker, how would you rate *overall* current funding initiatives which address the educational needs of adult immigrants in Edmonton?

1	2	3	4
highly	adequate	somewhat	very
adequate		inadequate	inadequate

21. How would you rate the range of educational opportunities available to adult immigrants in Edmonton?

1	2	3	4
highly	adequate	somewhat	very
adequate		inadequate	inadequate

22. How would you rate *overall* current funding initiatives which address the educational needs of the general adult population of Edmonton?

1	2	3	4
highly	adequate	somewhat	very
adequate		inadequate	inadequate

23. How would you rate the range of educational opportunities available to the general adult population of Edmonton?

1	2	3	4
highly	adequate	somewhat	very
adequate		inadequate	inadequate

24. What outcomes do you seek as a result of referring adult immigrant clients to educational programmes? Please rate:

1 is most important, 5 is least important.

- a) employment preparation _____
- b) educational upgrading _____
- c) social/cultural life skills _____
- d) literacy preparation _____
- e) citizenship _____

Thanks again.

APPENDIX II — CASE STORIES OF NEWCOMERS

The case stories in this section will introduce the reader to individuals who have lived with some of the issues presented in this document. Their selection was not intended to be representative but, rather, illustrative of a variety of learner profiles. This perspective complements both the demographic and institutional data, giving a human face to "population" and "learners."

You will meet R., a Chilean refugee who, because of permanent injury sustained on the job, chose adult education as a route to change occupations and support his family. Story 2 will introduce A., a woman with few educational opportunities in her own country who chose on-the-job training to meet her changing needs for immediate employment and skill development. In Case 3, S., a trained teacher from Vietnam, describes his experience proceeding from ESL courses to Academic Upgrading and finally to technical study, a process lasting about seven years. V., a mechanic, tells his story about language needs for apprenticeship training and T., a senior bureaucrat from pre-communist Vietnam, describes trying to find a niche for his skills in a new country and a new language.

Case Story 1 -The Story of R.

He told me little of his life before coming to Canada. Of his individual history, he told me that he completed high school and took courses in Industrial Relations toward a degree in Administration. He worked for a time in a copper refinery where he was elected as a union representative. Then came the coup d'etat and flight from his native Chile. From a known world of fear and violence, R. decided to take the refugee rollercoaster to an uncertain future in an unknown land.

He landed first in Quebec in 1974, looking for a job, speaking no French, no English. Through government sponsorship, he began to learn French and to look for jobs. In a depressed post-Olympic Quebec, however, the only jobs he could find were as a dishwasher. It was difficult even to establish himself.

Friends in Edmonton wrote to him, encouraging him to join them. At that time, Edmonton was experiencing the oil boom and work was plentiful for those who wanted it. He got a job, first as a dishwasher, then a janitor. He got on with a meat packing plant, sitting through a job interview without understanding a word of English. He watched the interviewer's body language and tried to look agreeable when that seemed appropriate. The job itself was smelly and dirty, following him home with the other passengers on the bus each day.

He began to learn some English. With his knowledge of Spanish and French, he could understand some things on television and he could try to read the newspaper. Listening and reading developed first. At later jobs in construction, he would try to communicate with other workers — mostly Italians, Portuguese — and was eventually able to make himself understood.

To improve his job possibilities, he took a couple of non-credit courses at NAIT in 1978. Though he didn't understand much of what was said during the course, he managed to get through it because his reading skills were far superior to his listening and speaking. Now he was able to join the Carpenters' Union.

By this time, R.'s two children had arrived from Chile to join him. It was a happy time because they were finally together again, after so much time, so many adventures. As a single parent, however, R. took on many added responsibilities. His children were just beginning the adjustment process, a new school system, a new language. R. says that he established a Spanish only rule in the home to encourage maintenance of the family's cultural heritage. R. had also realized from his experience as a speaker of Spanish, French and English, that multilingualism affords an individual a privileged position in the world, with access to the cultures and literatures of each group, the possibility of travel and study. The children picked up English quickly through school and their new friends.

All of this changed suddenly in 1982. R. was working a construction job when he fell from a scaffold. His back was seriously injured, making him wheelchair dependent off and on for more than a year. It was then that R. realized he would have to change careers. He would no longer be strong enough to do construction work and he did not want to go on welfare.

R. explained his situation to the Workers' Compensation Board, but instead of being offered English upgrading or job retraining he was given an intelligence test. Then, he was given a compensation allowance. After one year he was declared fit to return to work. Three hours into the first day, however, he was unable to move at all. He went back on compensation for a short time and was again declared physically fit. A quick return to work again left him paralyzed.

Just before the accident, R. had bought a house for his family, making a large downpayment. Now, with his injuries, his problems receiving compensation, he watched as that, too, disappeared. He lost everything he had. The boom was over.

R. had never applied for Unemployment Insurance nor Social Assistance. He had always been able to get carpentry jobs, even when work was scarce. Now, his family had

nothing to eat and there was no choice. He couldn't do hard work any more and he didn't have the English or the job skills to do anything else.

Social Assistance was his only alternative.

But Social Services allowed him to get a start at retraining. He entered the Alberta Vocational Centre and completed Grade 10 in a year. Coincidentally, that same Grade 10 would allow him entrance to the University of Alberta as a mature student (in 1984), if he could get a high enough TOEFL score. And he did.

Even if it sounds like the road is about to get smoother, be assured that it isn't. R. received a letter admitting him to begin study in September 1984. Then, he received a letter stating that he had not been accepted. At the university, he was sent from one office to another. He was told he would have to pass another test (Writing Competence). Finally, he was sent to the Faculty of Arts to talk to a woman who told him his file had been lost. He resubmitted all his documents. After all this, he failed to get funding because he had applied too late. Even so, he was allowed to take one course — English 215 — and he passed.

In late October, R. was called by the Workers' Compensation Board, inviting him to another hearing of his case. Dutifully, he retold his story and described his current situation. To his astonishment, the officials then offered him a sizeable settlement for his injuries, enough to support his family while he continued to study. It was like a gift from heaven!

Throughout most of his first and second years at university, R. had many problems with English, but they were not insurmountable. Understanding was the biggest hurdle. R. feels that ESL and Adult Upgrading teachers who adapt their language for immigrants do them a great disservice. Now he was being forced to use English to compete with native English-speaking classmates. Every success, no matter how small, motivated him to do better. Every pass, no matter how low, was a success. R. completed his degree in four years.

In retrospect, R. remembers attending his first lecture, seeing the other students busily listening and taking notes. He remembers understanding nothing about the lecture itself.

I asked him how he would have felt if there had been language skills support for his study. R. found the idea quite interesting, relating his own difficulties with study skills, examination formats, reading and writing skills, to those of other newcomers.

R. feels that many newcomers have the potential to participate in adult education, but they are currently not receiving the counselling which would encourage them to strive toward that goal. Instead, he feels they are being counselled into low level employment with no view to mobility. Once working, many newcomers find their economic situation such that it is very difficult to change. They do not make enough money to save any, and they have financial commitments. They are caught.

R. also talked about the experience of different groups of newcomers, saying that, in his experience, some groups who come from more competitive cultures have more opportunities to integrate quickly. These groups tend to have higher levels of education as a group, and their education is not dissimilar from that of Canadians. Other groups, however, come from less competitive societies where there is less general access to education. These groups tend to have more ongoing problems with settlement and adjustment to Canada. Their representation in Canadian mainstream society, as a consequence, is more limited.

R. feels we are already beginning to see the frustration of such groups expressed through family and social violence, including crime. He feels that, without government policy which encourages opportunity for such groups, this trend will only increase.

It is with some regret that R. mentioned to me, near the end of our interview, his frustration with writing in English. Though he has successfully written and published short stories in his native Spanish, R. feels somewhat limited by his skill in writing English. He seems resigned to the fact that change, at this stage, is unlikely. Unlikely,

as well, then, is the possibility that more Canadians will learn about experiences such as he has had.

Case Story 2 — She Works Hard for the Money

In fact, I have had a nodding acquaintance with A. for some years. It was only after I began collecting these stories that it occurred to me that she might also have a perspective to share. We met at her workplace at the end of the day, setting up over cups of instant coffee as the other women filled out their timesheets.

As we talked, A. gradually led me into her past. She didn't have too much education in Chile. There, there is a real disparity between rich and poor and education can be extremely expensive. A. needed to get a job early, so, at age 9, she got a job babysitting for her teacher and moved into the teacher's home. A. ran away to her own home several times before she finally got used to the arrangement. She stayed there for two years.

After finishing Grade 6, A. got a job in a grocery store during the day and continued to study evenings. She finished grades 8 and 9 with her sister but found that problems with English, a compulsory subject in middle school, were keeping her back. She was also discouraged by the exploitive practices of her employers and she told her sister she was leaving school.

When she found a job with hours that conflicted with school times, the decision became final. At 14, she was working in a garment factory doing hand finishing on clothing. She didn't become less active, though. A. is proud to talk about her role in helping to start a union in her factory at age 16.

The next year, her mother died. A. quit work to run the family household while other family members worked. To earn her own money, A. began knitting sweaters to sell in the market.

In 1971, A. returned to work in the factory and, in two years, had married. As she and her husband began to think about a family, trouble with the military began. Her husband, who had completed his compulsory military service was forced to go to military camp every weekend for a year.

A new baby brought into focus the insecurities that surrounded them. Jobs were threatened, everyone was worried. Inflation soared and people ran out of money. A. and her husband tried to escape to Argentina three times before they succeeded in getting away.

Life there was hard. They had virtually no money, were refugees. Though A. had a sister in Buenos Aires, she didn't want to become a burden to her family. A., her husband and her child went to stay with a cousin in Olabarria while her husband applied for refugee status somewhere in the world. A week later, he brought home papers to apply for Canada, wherever that was.

The time that followed, stretched them to the limit. They had moved to Baya Blanca with only enough money for one night's accommodation and this was spent on bread and instant milk for the baby. A. remembers crying a lot as she considered her situation with no food, no future, forced to cheat to keep going. Things did get better, though. At church on Sunday her husband met people who offered him a demolition job.

Many jobs and much time elapsed before the second interview with the Canadians. A. felt like giving up but her husband assured her that the next interview would give them permission to leave for Canada. A letter finally came and it was true! They had fifteen days to prepare their departure.

Wetaskiwin seemed a nice, quiet place to settle. A.'s husband had worked in plastics in Chile and was sent to work in a local plastics factory. The work was completely different from what he was used to, though. Everything was done by machines. He ended up packing plastic products for \$3.50 an hour. The job didn't last long.

A.'s husband applied to Manpower for an ESL course in Edmonton and was accepted nine months later. A. was refused any language training because she had written "housewife" as her occupation category on immigration documents. She was pregnant now, for the second time.

It was difficult for A.'s husband to stay in the English course. They had a very old and unreliable car in which to commute to Edmonton. She was having a difficult pregnancy. There wasn't enough money. A.'s husband began selling encyclopedias door to door part time for extra cash. He quit the English course.

He got more work. He found a job in a metal factory in Nisku and was still able to sell encyclopedias on his days off. They moved to Edmonton.

A. began working at the VanWinkle hotel. She was also studying English at this time by watching TV, but mostly though listening to music and talking to people. Her husband had a day job in interior construction, but he heard about janitorial work. They got a contract to do the janitorial work for Canadian Tire at Capilano. They kept their day jobs and got a babysitter at night while they worked. A. remembers that her family in Chile was depending on them for support; her youngest brother was still in school.

In the next few years, A. had two more children and had applied to sponsor her father and brother as immigrants. After the third baby, A. did strictly janitorial work and she made a lot of money. This all changed in 1984 when she suffered a back injury on the job.

Workers' Compensation was very supportive during A.'s rehabilitation, offering her both therapy and counselling while she was disabled. In 1985, they helped her get training as a sewing machine operator with her current employer.

I asked A. about how she made the decision to take the training that was offered. She told me that, as she didn't have much education, her choices were limited. Going back to school would take at least three or four years. She opted for on-the-job training.

She didn't like the work at first, but she gradually adjusted to it. Her boss was extremely understanding, giving her added responsibility as she could take it, helping her with English. He offered to let her go to school in the afternoon, but she declined as she preferred to work. She was learning English from her kids.

A. feels that there are lots of opportunities to work in Canada and that there is no excuse for being unemployed. Neither she nor her husband have hardly ever been without work. I asked her about unemployment among her countrymen and she told me that those without work are lazy. In Chile, if you don't work you have nothing. In Canada, you can get welfare.

When we talked about why Chileans would be lazier than Canadians, however, issues became more complex. We talked about culture, about the homesickness of many Chilean refugees, about the conflicting values of Chilean and Canadian society. A. knows several people who have refused jobs her husband has told them about. She cannot understand this.

She also told me about another friend who studied in adult upgrading, then took business training at AVC. That woman has secretarial qualifications, but no job. A. feels that her friend's expectations are too high, that she is not willing to start at the bottom and work her way up.

A. feels that you have to love the country to be successful here. People who are not happy should go home. She feels that accusations of "racism" are all too often voiced when other problems are responsible. It was never clear, however, what these other problems were.

Case Story 3 — Long Time Coming

S. is an old student of mine. We met at school in 1980 when he had recently arrived from Vietnam. Imagine my feeling when I encountered him almost ten years later and was able to talk to him about his experiences since we last met!

In Vietnam, S. told me, he lived with his family. His father had a business and, if it were not for the Communist takeover, S. would probably be running it today. Things change, however. The family business disappeared, but the new government allowed S. to enrol in an architectural school. He failed at this and was sent to an educational programme to become a teacher. Four years later, he graduated as a teacher of mathematics. Then, with a year and a half of teaching to his credit, he escaped his homeland to start a new life.

He arrived in Canada on his birthday, May 16, 1980. After studying ESL at AVC for five months, he got his first job as a dishwasher at a restaurant just down the street from the school. Management realized his potential and, three months later, he was promoted to busboy. (S. laughed when he told me that busboy was as high a promotion as you could get at that restaurant!)

The job allowed him the chance to talk to customers and learn more conversational English. I asked S. if he felt frustrated at not being able to use his training from Vietnam, but he said that when you lose your country, you lose everything. It is better for him to be a dishwasher here than to stay and live under the system in place in his homeland. S. was willing to accept the jobs he did because of his limited English.

S.'s big dream was to become a "Peter Pocklington worker" like his friend who made \$13 per hour. Such a job would enable him to make a lot of money to help his family back at home and, possibly, to sponsor family members in the future. Family occupies a large part of S.'s thoughts, and their reality is vivid in his continuous expression of concern.

But S. never recognized that meaty dream. After working as a busboy for a year, he felt the need to go back to school to reactivate some of the skills he had developed through his education. He was accepted into Academic Upgrading at AVC and felt ready to study to "regain my background."

He didn't stop working, though. While he studied during the daytime for the next three years, he worked nights as cook, then a sous-chef and finally a chef. In three years he obtained a Canadian High School Diploma.

S.'s study took him from post-ESL (or pre English 10 for non-native English speakers) to Reading 10 to English 10. Content subjects were gradually introduced as his overall English skills developed. Because of his Math. background, he was exempted from all but Math 30. He also took Social Studies, Physics and Chemistry. In June, 1984 he graduated.

Back to working as a chef in the evenings, S. considered his next course of action. He did some career investigation and decided to capitalize on his Math. background and try the programme in Telecommunications Technology at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT). He was intrigued by recent developments in and possibilities of telecommunications. He was accepted by the programme in 1985.

After two quarters of both study and work, he quit his evening job because of the study workload. I asked S. about his confidence in his English at that point and he told me that not much oral English was required of anybody in the programme. He was completely confident in his reading and writing skills, but admits feeling terrified if he was called upon to speak in class.

I asked S. if he could have been successful in his studies at NAIT without the initial high school preparation of AVC. He compared his experience with other friends' who quit the AVC programme because they were required to take Grades 7 to 9 in addition to high school. He said that those friends had registered directly in NAIT's pre-technology programme and were successful in NAIT study. His decision to spend so much time at

AVC was partially determined by his need to work nights while he studied. He could have begun his NAIT study earlier but he needed to work.

At the time we talked, S. had completed his programme in Telecommunications Technology and was actively looking for a job. He had completed his programme in February and it was now June. He was feeling frustrated by the job search and was planning a trip to Toronto to check out employment opportunities there.

Case Story 4 — The Man Who Knows About Cars

V. is already tired of talking about what has happened to him. He fidgets nervously. His answers come quickly and all too briefly to this curious stranger. He is tall and athletic, proud of his sporting accomplishments, frustrated by a system which has given him a wild goose chase instead of helping him gain credit for the skills he knows he possesses.

When he finished his basic education in his native Africa, V. began working as an auto mechanic. In his country, a trade is learned on the job from other tradesmen. So it was with V., who admits he didn't work too hard at that time, although he developed a real love for the work.

After V. had worked for two years in the shop, his family was accepted by Canada to join a brother in Edmonton. V. had learned English informally in his homeland. It was not the language of instruction, but it was widely spoken and he learned some. He did not apply for full time English study when he arrived because he could not afford to study. He was not aware that a training allowance might be available through Canada Employment. Instead, he looked for a job as a mechanic.

But he lacked qualifications. He began working in a tire shop while he searched the want ads for another opportunity. Finally, he found a position as a mechanic's helper — no documents required.

Everything was going well. V. was accepted into the Apprenticeship programme and began to take training. He knew he was having difficulty with technical terminology and the reading and writing required for exams. He went to AVC to get help and was registered in the part-time ESL programme.

The programme was not helpful for his needs. V. wanted help with technical terms, reading and writing, but he was learning conversational English. After a month, he left the programme because he felt it was inappropriate. He was told that nothing else was available. At this time, he registered in Basic Maths. and found it helpful.

Difficulties with reading and writing were continuing to affect his progress in his apprenticeship programme. V. felt so discouraged that he left the country for a while. He couldn't stay away, though, and a year later he was back, once again trying for success.

This time was very hard for V. He felt confident that he could do a good job as a mechanic and his boss agreed with him. They couldn't understand why the process seemed so difficult when V. was obviously talented.

The Apprenticeship Board was also very supportive. It was through their assistance that V. finally was referred for some educational counselling, and was directed toward appropriate courses in developmental reading and basic writing.

V. feels that he is finally making progress. The skills he is learning will definitely help him in his coursework and his exams. He still worries about timed examinations, though. Even if he can manage the reading and writing for a test, he says it takes him longer than a native English speaker to finish. This is a continuing frustration.

At the moment, V. is focussed on getting through his first and second year exams. When he succeeds with them, he can continue his apprenticeship and, hopefully, finish within two or three years.

He is adamant about his treatment. He wonders why it took so long before he got directed to an appropriate programme and why the system is so cumbersome, so uncoordinated. He knows there are many more people that come to Canada in situations like his and he wonders what happens to them if they do not persist in their struggle. Perhaps they just give up.

V. feels that ESL programmes do not have enough variety in their course offerings. With regard to part-time programming, he said that he went from school to school and really the only difference was the price. For a learner like him, with an imbalance of oral skill as compared with reading and writing, little appropriate coursework is available.

When asked what advice he would offer to other newcomer tradespeople, V. responded that they should stick to courses with a technical orientation — basic maths, reading and writing — and avoid getting into language programmes which will not address their needs.

Case Story 5 — Transfer of Skills

Next door to T's office, a lifeskills coach is talking animatedly about strategies for problem solving with a group of job seekers. T. ignores the distraction. We have a lot to talk about. Over tea, he explains the realities of his situation as he shows me his file of letters, his accomplishments in his current position. I try to fathom this anxiety that comes with success.

Educated in Vietnam before the fall of the last regime, T. completed a four year degree in Economic Finance at the University of Public Administration. T. describes the administrative style in Vietnam as a combination of French and American. (He showed me how to properly pin a letter for a superior's signature!) T.'s degree included English training, mostly reading and writing. Once out of university, he moved directly into government service.

The system of advancement in Asia is such that junior workers try many different jobs as they advance. By the time they become senior officials, they are familiar with the day to day workings of the organization at many levels. T. began in City Hall, in the Economic Department for a year, before he was moved to the Electoral Officer's Office where he organized the city election system. Then, he was appointed Chief of the Security Office and, as assistant to the mayor, oversaw Policing and Corrections for his city. T. eventually became Chief of the Financial Office and controlled finances for a city of over 100, 000 people, supervising sixty people directly.

He won a scholarship to take part in an American programme to assist development of public officials in the third world. After three months of special English for taxation, he qualified to study at the University of Southern California and went abroad for a year. It was 1972. Receiving a certificate in Tax Administration at USC, he returned to his old job.

With his new skills, T. was soon given responsibility to develop policy which would enable the transfer of taxation services from the Dept. of Finance to the Dept. of the

Interior, including services at the local, institutional and departmental level. Again transferred, he became Chief of Personnel for the National Ministry of the Interior, supervising senior police, correctional and administrative staff.

In 1973, he returned to school to do an MA in Political Science in Saigon, graduating just as his government collapsed. You can imagine how a new regime regards political scientists and bureaucrats of the old system! T. was swiftly placed in a reeducation camp where he stayed for two and a half years.

He became very ill and was released because officials thought he was about to die. Even as his health improved, though, he was forced to work as an accounting clerk in a district office and eventually asked to develop an accounting system for control and sales of now scarce imported medicines. In 1984, he received permission to leave Vietnam and join his brother in Canada.

Shortly after he arrived in Edmonton, his brother told him that if he wanted to learn English, he should go to the Mennonite Centre for Newcomers. He went there and studied for a week until he heard about a job opportunity through the centre. MCN had received funding to initiate a gardening project in Mill Woods for newcomers. T. was extremely nervous about his English, but was encouraged by his volunteer ESL tutor to try it. The project was extremely successful, helping some 50 Southeast Asian people grow their own vegetables that year.

T. was also concerned about the situation of immigrants who want to study. He talked to the director who, through contacts at Fairview College, helped to set up the Skills Training Program for New Canadians. I asked T. why they did not approach an institution in Edmonton about the project and he said that, at that time, there were no facilities interested in accepting immigrants because of their English; there was no vocational ESL; there were problems with recognition of educational and professional backgrounds.

The programme attracted 250 interested individuals. Language testing and the funding application process reduced this number to the 34 who were finally admitted. T. feels that the project clearly demonstrated "the very heavy demand for vocational language and skills training for newcomers" (Nguyen, 1985). The programme continues today, drawing students both from Calgary and Edmonton.

I asked T. about his own situation in his agency. He said that he would like to know English well enough to work in government administration in Canada. This means that he would like to be able to manage interactions (discussions/debates) with confidence, express nuances of feelings and ideas and most of all conquer the bureaucratic writing style. In his limited free time, he has taken one ESL course a year for the last three years. He feels that because of his language skills, he is able to use only about seventy per cent of the skills he has developed through his education and experience.

T.'s workload is heavy. In addition to organizing programmes, applying for funding, managing, supervising and reporting, he is also heavily involved in public education and ethnocultural community development. Two years ago, he told me, he took a six month leave of absence because of exhaustion. Even so, the salary he receives is very low by Canadian standards. He tells me that this is because in Canada, multiculturalism is still viewed as a luxury, an add-on, not as an integral part of all services. In a multicultural society, however, such a perspective should be fundamental.

T. said that, in his view, the only difference between settlement agencies and other community social services is clientele (and funding). The work is very similar, but social services do not employ enough minority workers or interpreters to make their services accessible to newcomers. He predicts that this will eventually change, that settlement agencies will disappear if social service providers employ minority staff members to address community needs in a more holistic way.

Regarding immigrant participation in adult education, T. said that there are major problems. Clients don't know our system -- what is available and where, how to get financial assistance -- and they need this help. Also, counsellors in mainstream institutions have enough clients. Accepting immigrant students will only increase their workload. There is no motivation within mainstream agencies and programmes to accept immigrant students.

T. is still able to distinguish between his personal goals and his community involvement. He knows that he must begin thinking about his own needs more if he is ever to work again in a mainstream administrative capacity. He also knows that his current job leaves him no time or energy to improve his English ...